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THE SURVEY

APRIL 1951 — FIFTY CENTS

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SURVEY ASSOCIATES, Inc.

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New way of handling Long Distance

Operator Toll Dialing proves a big help in these busy days of national preparedness

Long Distance lines are really humming these days. There are many more calls than a year ago. More are from the Nation's industries and Armed Forces, hurrying the country's most important job.

A big help in keeping these calls moving is Operator Toll Dialing — a remarkable new telephone development.

You give the Long Distance operator the number in the usual way. She quickly presses several keys and your call goes straight through to the telephone you want in a distant city.

It makes for faster service — especially on calls that formerly were relayed through other cities.

With so many more calls on the lines, it's a mighty good thing that Operator Toll Dialing was developed and is now available and in use in so many places. About one-third of Long Distance calls are now being handled in this new way.

It is just one of many ways in which the growth and improvement of telephone service are now proving of extra value to the Nation in these days of preparedness.

ANOTHER STEP FORWARD ... *More and more telephone users in a growing number of metropolitan areas can now dial Toll calls direct to nearby places the same way they dial Local calls* ... **BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM**

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Letters from Survey Readers

A German Viewpoint

To the Editor: Rose Albert Porter's "Youth in the West Zone" [February *Survey*] seems to be unquestionably the paper of a thoughtful, sincere, and professional individual, who may compare favorably with other writers' analyses for the same problem. However, in my opinion this paper lacks essentially validity, for a number of reasons.

Even though Miss Porter states that she speaks fluently German, it can be safely assumed that she does so not only with a foreign accent—her mind will bear a "foreign accent" likewise. Her whole objective seems to be based on the wrong focus: she sees the Germans with the eyes and the mind of an American who is presenting as much of a distorted picture as when Germans write about us.

As an example, I would like to point out her correct while factual statement that the Germans "are unwilling to believe that Hitler was wrong—only that he failed." Her, perhaps, unconscious resentment of such feelings, however, is based on her lack of understanding of the German mind. I may seem bold when I state that even a substantial majority of German Jews (fully aware of Hitler's plans against them) was in full accord with Hitler's political and economic plans. In fact, it has often been stated by this group that many of them would have been his followers if it had not been for the anti-Semitic program of his party. I know this because I was one of the group.

It also appears that Miss Porter's rather charming and frank but also dangerous ignorance toward the inquiries of her German wards is relevant. Some time ago *Survey* published a paper by Dr. Hirsch, "Visit to My Past." By comparing these two papers, the reader may perceive in a glimpse why Miss Porter was, rightly, innocent in and about her work with German youth and why, for that matter, our occupation has substantially failed to "re-educate" the Germans.

Los Angeles, California Hans A. Illing

The Author's Comment

To the Editor: I think Mr. Illing must have been away from his country for many years and so makes no allowance for the cataclysmic changes which have taken place. He states emphatically that a substantial majority of German Jews (fully aware of Hitler's plans against them) was in full accord with Hitler's political and economic plans. "I know this because I was one of the group." So says Mr. Illing. While this statement has nothing to do with the subject matter of my article, nevertheless I would like to comment on Mr. Illing's remarks. I was told by Germans in the British Zone that there was a Jewish organization that did support National Socialism until 1933 when the pogroms started. I was also told that in a free election Hitler never received from the German voting public a majority. One can only mull over Mr. Illing's position in regard to the Third Reich and wonder what in the end motivates people, or should I say some people, to be for or against their leaders' political and economic plans. Is it humanitarianism?

As for my innocent approach to my "wards," if Mr. Illing is using the word "innocent" in contrast to "cynical," "authoritarian" or "hard-boiled," he is quite right. My attitude toward them was innocent and it is my firm conviction that this is the only successful approach to children and young people.

The Germans I met—of all ages—refute completely Mr. Illing's attitude that only Germans can understand Germans. They are eager to know what the outside world thinks of them and with the deepest sincerity tried to interpret their individual attitudes and part in the Third Reich, the defeat and hunger period and the occupation. His attitude would relegate them to eternal isolation, and for the sake of any possible future peace in the world they don't want that and we surely do not.

New York City Rose A. Porter

Miss Cleghorn's Letter

To the Editor: Having read Sarah N. Cleghorn's letter in your January "Survey Readers Write" on the subject of our national drift to war via a ruthless drive toward building up hatreds, I wish to second Miss Cleghorn's lament, and to differ with your comment.

You mildly sympathize with her pacifism, but allege that, as the issue is one of choice between freedom and tyranny, we are obliged to choose the former.

But so far as Asia and Africa particularly are concerned, is not the issue one of colonialism and capitalistic exploitation *versus* the self-development of their economies by the now submerged peoples? Why is the issue one of freedom, when in Spain and Greece with our connivance or support ruthless dictators suppress the liberal elements of the people; when for "Free Korea" we supported a man who surrounded himself with a terroristic militia and allowed the much needed land reforms to lie as a dead letter? . . .

Freedom it seems is an edifice that can rise only upon the foundation of earlier achievement, such as the achievement of economic minima (banishing of the threat of starvation), and the achievement of a minimum of political security—banishing the fear of conquest and political obliteration.

Is it not true that as we as a nation assist the world in these basic directions, we prepare for the building of a gentler, less ruthless social order? On the other hand, to the extent that we ignore these fundamentals, do we not drive the submerged people into the arms of communism? And, if a world-war should then result, the very foundations on which liberty could be established would also crumble.

Chicago, Illinois Otto Wander

To the Editor: The brave inclusiveness of *The Survey* was again evidenced when you published Sarah N. Cleghorn's letter in which the question was asked, "Can some of us be brave enough to say how we really feel about war?" For one, I have tried to express my feelings in the following lines:

Health and Healing!
How Christ wills it and gives it;
Yet we destroy it—faster than we
Let Him give it.
This morning's paper asks for
"22,000 hospital technicians"—
These to serve us
Made ill and broken by pagans—and Christians—
On the other side of the firing line.
But we Christians—and pagans—
Or are we only pagan Christians?—
Make them to need multiplied
"22,000 hospital technicians"
For men, women and little children
Beneath our firing line!
Health and Healing!
Wholeness cannot come for ourselves
Until we make it come to all.
Christ did not say for me to cut hand, foot or eye from others,
But from myself;
And then I will not have the heart to do it to another.
Health and Healing
Is but a flimsy front of fact
Until the demon brokenness is exorcised from my own breast
And I in heart, will and hand refuse to break and sicken others.
That there may be for everyone everywhere always only
Health and Healing in Christ.

H. V. Lofquist

The Mission of the Good Samaritan
Asheville, North Carolina

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THE SURVEY

April 1951

Cover: "April in the City." Photo by J. Y. D. Bucher, from R. I. Nesmith

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Editor: Paul Kellogg.

Associate Editors: Beulah Amidon, Ann Reed Brenner, Kathryn Close, Cora Emme, Loula D. Lasker, George C. Stoney; *editorial assistants:* Hannah Gallagher, Janet Sabloff.

Contributing editors: (Honorary) John Palmer Gavit, Alain Locke, Leon Whipple, Florence Loeb Kellogg.

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Among Ourselves

IN ADDITION to pussywillows, violets, and its other delightful concomitants, Spring brings round the annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, the big event of the year to almost everybody concerned with social work, whether in a lay or professional capacity. This year's meeting, the 78th, will be held May 13 to 18 at Atlantic City. It will be the first in which the new program plan, adopted in a structural overhauling two years ago, is to be put completely in effect. In the interests of simplification the number of sections have been reduced from twelve to three: Services to Individuals and Families; Services to Groups; Services to Agencies and Communities. In addition, meetings on three "special interests" will be scheduled: Professional Education, Public Relations, Social Research. Other subjects of special interest which cut across all service areas will be discussed in future years.

Sixty-two Associate Groups will also hold meetings in connection with the conference. Notably absent this year will be the Joint Committee on Trade Unions in Social Work, which was denied affiliation this year by the executive committee.

The general sessions will be presided over by President Ewan Clague, head of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, and other conference officers. A notable feature on the evening of May 14, preceding the presidential address will be the presentation of the Survey Award, for "imaginative and constructive contribution to social work" to the Survey Award Committee's choice, by Ollie Randall, chairman.

As usual members of *The Survey* staff will be on hand all week to greet the public and to report the conference.

OSLO UNIVERSITY'S Summer School for American Students announces the establishment of four Ralph Bunche Scholarships for the 1951 session. The scholarships, named in honor of the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize recipient, have been made available by the Association of Electro-Chemical and Electro-Metallurgical Industries of Norway. Each will have a value of $350. For details, apply to Oslo Summer School Admissions Office, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota.

Dr. Bunche's article in the March *Survey* has been widely quoted. It so impressed one reader that he ordered 30 extra copies of the issue, as gifts to friends.

EDWARD N. CLOPPER of Cincinnati, who wrote occasional *Survey* articles in the Twenties, recently completed a very different sort of writing—a volume entitled "An American Family: Its Ups and Downs Through Eight Generations in New Amsterdam, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, and Texas from 1650 to 1880." (Standard Printing and Publishing Co. $5). Pieced together chiefly from family letters, journals, and records, this is the sort of contribution Archibald MacLeish once described when he wrote in *The Yale Review:*

"There are two kinds of history—the public history of the printed books, the battle monuments and the steel engravings; and the private history of the letters tied in bundles and the flowers from the rainy graves. The attics of the forty-eight states are filled with the private history of the republic, as every good librarian knows."

CARE recently announced a children's book program, a supplement to the existing CARE-UNESCO Book Fund which sends scientific and technical works overseas (see *The Survey,* September 1949). Under the new plan, CARE will accept cash donations to provide the best American youth literature for schools, libraries, and other children's institutions in war ravaged countries of Europe and Asia. Contributions in any amount received by the Children's Book Fund, 20 Broad Street, New York City, will be applied toward two types of book shelf:

They are a series of picture books for young children, and a series of books for older boys and girls who are learning English as a second language.

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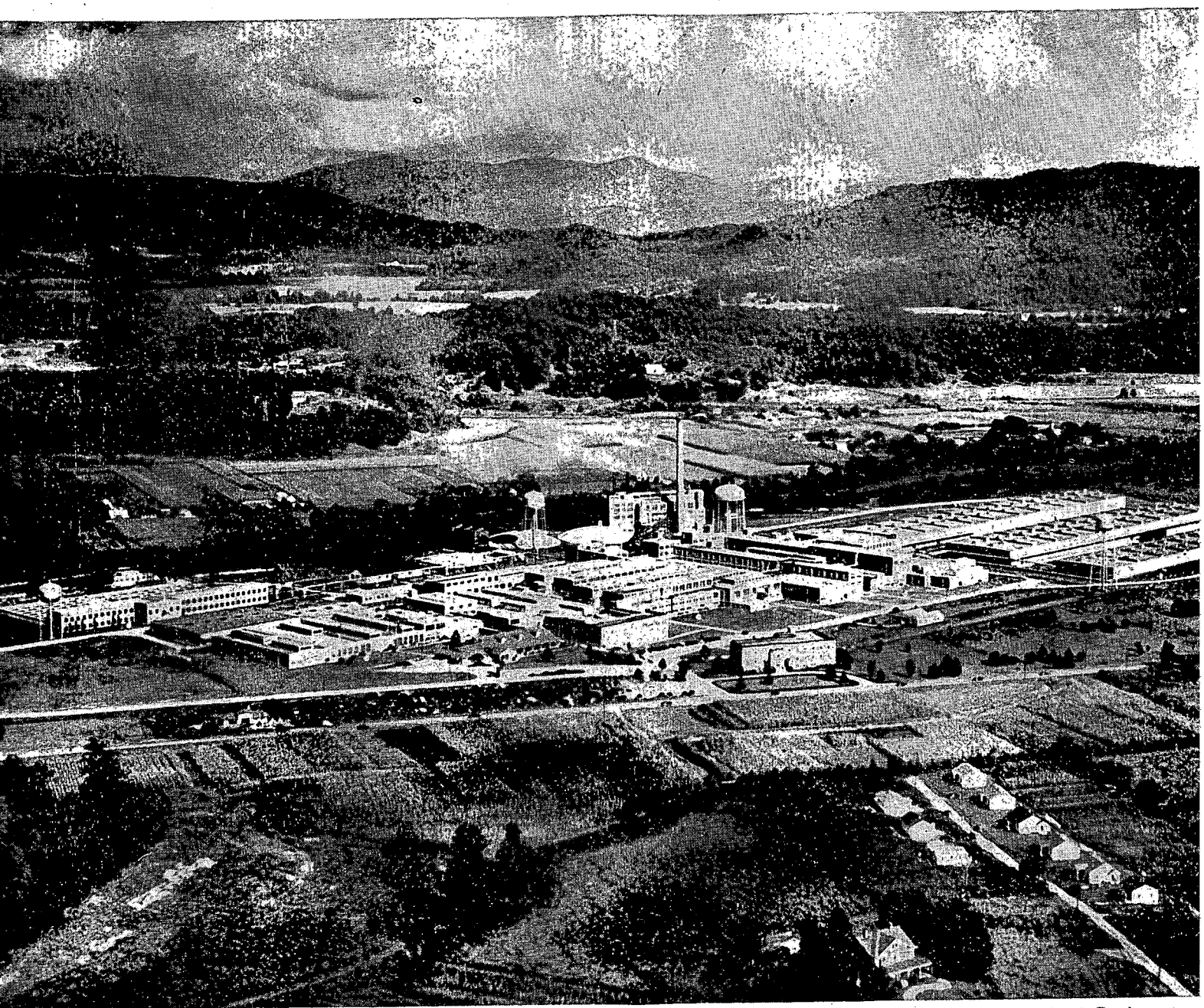

North Carolina Department of Conservation & Development

Typical of the "New South" and its industrial development is this factory near Brevard, North Carolina. Its employes live in small towns or on farms, traveling back and forth over a network of good roads

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New Opportunity—in a New South

Changes brought by fifteen years of prosperity to industry, unions and communities in this country's biggest and fastest growing new market.

GEORGE C. STONEY

For the past decade the opposing forces of industry and organized labor have spilled dollars, ink, and on occasion even blood in a major campaign for control of the southern worker. At this writing it would seem that labor is fighting a holding operation, its "southern drive" converted to a dogged defense of the beachhead it gained during the early Wagner Act period and the first years of the late war.

This fact—and only a few labor people will question it—is to be regretted, for no one has benefited more from this competition for his loyalties than the southern worker himself.

The direction and financing of both the contesting sides has been largely non-southern, which is again a matter for regret. For this continues the colonial-paternal pattern: the autocratically benevolent plantation owner of a hundred years ago working off his indebtedness to a northern banker has simply given place to the manager of a modern branch plant, equally tied and often just as autocratic and benevolent. In his wake have come south more recently the modern industrial unions, striving to maintain their influence on a national standard of wages and working conditions in a section of the country that knows little about "industrial democracy" and most of whose leaders have shown a distinct distaste for it.

Mean and unromantic though the struggle be, the economic benefits it has brought to the South are very real.

Those fortunate Yankees who motor to Florida or the Gulf Coast each winter must surely notice the difference—the television aerials on hundreds of small farmhouses north and east of Atlanta; the rows of shiny bicycles outside rickety clapboard schools for Negroes in Mississippi; the remodeled mill villages along the Piedmont range from Danville south through Charlotte and Greenville; the flashy new store fronts around court house squares in Georgia and Alabama.

Ten years ago silk stockings blowing in the wind beside one of those chicken-coop houses that straggle along the highways outside most southern towns marked the home where a daughter worked in the mill. Now one looks for the new electric refrigerator and washing machine on the porch. For now it is more than likely two or three members of the family are bringing cash back from town each Friday afternoon.

Everywhere there are more painted houses and better dressed people. The traveling "outsider" (for the South is still a section apart, and thinks of itself as such) who has no prewar memories to use as a comparison may be distressed on occasion by the winter bleakness of the general landscape, the relative squalor of most towns once he passes through the better residential sections.

But as he drives on to that landscaped tourist court outside the next town (with more baths and inside toilets than the whole community had fifteen years ago) he should notice the new brick consolidated school, the swank drive-in theater, the streamlined mill. On Sunday the "mill-hand" children pouring out of the big new brick Church of God Tabernacle look almost as straight-legged and well dressed as the business men's children coming out of the Presbyterian Sunday School on the other side of town.

In sum, the South in 1951 looks, acts, and feels more like the rest of the United States than at any time in the past century. Most people still cook their beans and collard greens with a slice of salt pork, but now very often that side meat has a good wide streak of lean in it.

Though some mourn lost "charm," the South's new industrial gain is considered good news by most southerners. It should be considered good news by the rest of the country, too. For these thirteen states with roughly a fifth of the nation's population are producing a third of its children, a surplus labor force that—despite remarkable industrialization of the home region—is sending to the North and Middle West millions of new citizens. The annual influx from the South is surpassed in size only by foreign immigration in a few peak years before or just after World War I. What these children have to eat and the way they are educated is obviously of national importance.

During the 1940's, while the country as a whole boosted its dollar income approximately 130 percent, all southern states did much better than that, with Mississippi actually making an increase in per capita income of something like 226 percent.

The South's per capita income in the early 1930's was well below half the national average. Today it is almost

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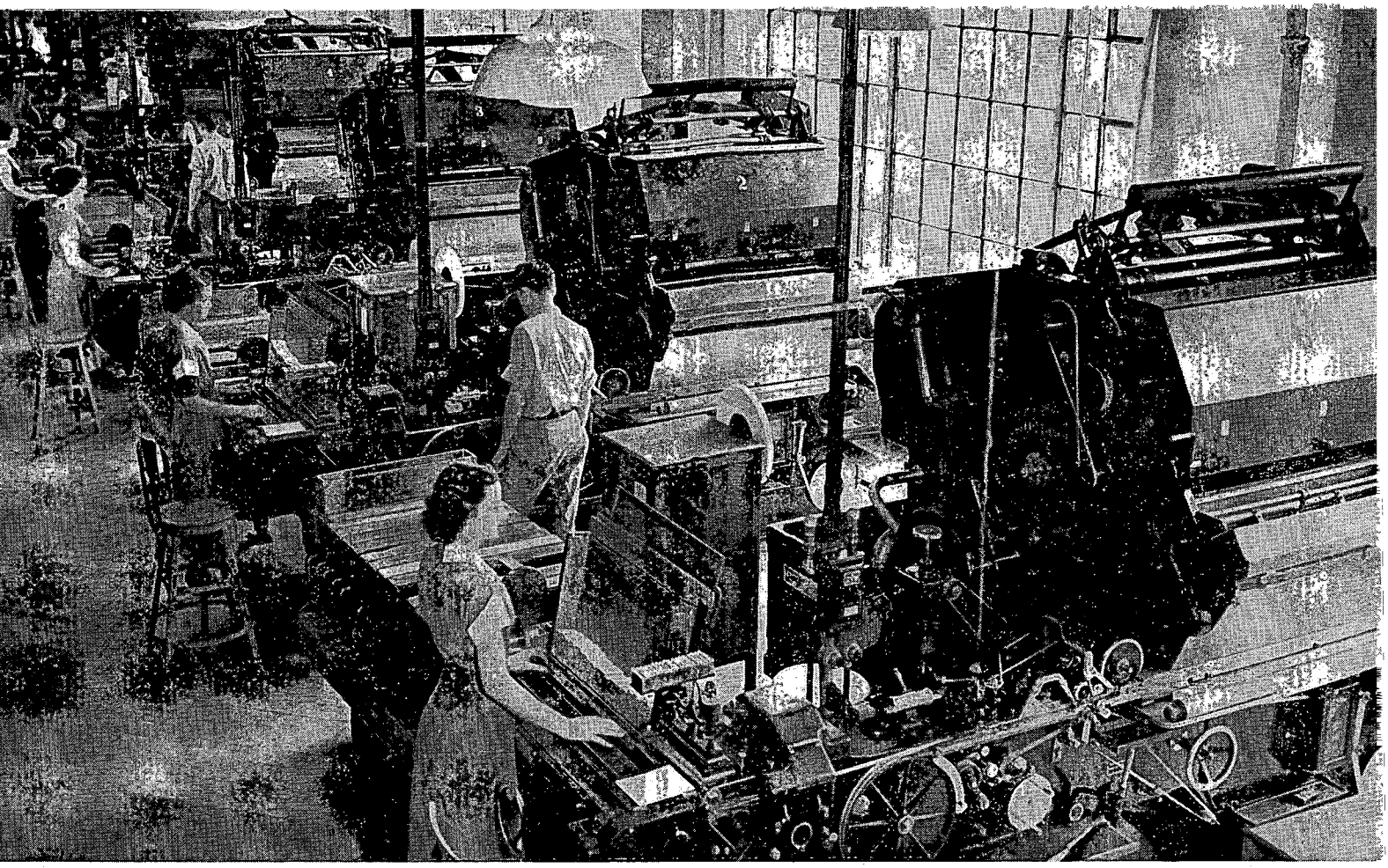

All photos from North Carolina Department of Conservation & Developmer

As against cotton picking, southern girls find factory work easy and well paid

two thirds of the national figure. While a substantial part of this increase has come from higher farm prices, even more has come from higher industrial wages. For example, in textiles the average minimum wage has been boosted in fifteen years from 23 cents an hour to about 87 cents.

In every major field of manufacturing, the South's share of national earnings has gone up: in tobacco from 53 to 58 percent, in all textiles from 36 to 40 percent, in lumber from 33 to 37 percent, in automobiles and rubber products from 3 to 6 percent, in chemicals from 15 to 20 percent, in paper from 12 to 15 percent—and this trend is continuing.

Since the post-reconstruction days of Henry Grady, southern leaders have preached that their section's only path up from poverty is through industrialization. While an occasional politician might sound off against Wall Street money and people with "foreign" names, the best silver in the best homes would be polished up to entertain the traveling Yankee who brought either with him, if that visitor happened to be looking for a factory site.

Measured volume-wise, most southern industry has been developed by outside firms and outside capital and the proportion of outside control seems to be increasing. In a brilliant analysis entitled "Why Industry Moves South," published in 1948 by the National Policy Association's Committee of the South, two economists, Glenn McLaughlin and Stefan Robock, state:

"The extent of 'foreign' control of southern industry is suggested by some 1939 statistics for the seven states of the Southeast. Nationally, 18.5 percent of all manufacturing establishments were branch plants and they produced about 56 percent of the total volume of manufactured products. In the southeastern region, 27.2 percent of all establishments were branch plants which produced almost 70.5 percent of the region's total volume of products. This dominance of branch plants also undoubtedly applies to new facilities constructed since 1939 although no exact measures are as yet at hand."

McLaughlin and Robock, basing their generalizations on eighty-eight carefully picked case histories, say three main things attract industry to the South: southern markets, southern raw materials, southern labor, in that order of importance.

These findings seem to have surprised almost everyone. For two generations southern leaders had assumed that "cheap, cooperative, native-born labor" was their section's main attraction, and advertised it as such. When the New Deal brought in federal minimum wage laws, southern congressmen led the fight against them, saying such laws would kill the South's chance to get new industry. State minimum wage laws are still conspicuous by their absence. Yet within a decade after total wages paid southern labor started up, the markets these extra dollars create have become the section's most important attraction for new industry.

McLaughlin and Robock found only a handful of their eighty-eight new plants—those in textiles, garment-making and shoes—were attracted south by the relatively lower wage scales they found. Even the textile and apparel makers seemed resigned to the fact that whatever differential in actual hourly rates of pay they might now enjoy would soon be done away with, leaving them only the differential (one found countrywide) between rates of pay in small towns against those paid in cities.

Why, then, does southern labor still stand as an important attraction to industry and is its unorganized status such a threat to unionized workers in the rest of the

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country? The most obvious reason is that there is a vast difference between hourly rates of pay and total labor cost per unit of output. In their new southern plants managers seem able to get more production for the dollars they put into pay envelopes. Let's see how this is possible.

The South's high birthrate plus the swift mechanization of agriculture is sending literally millions of new workers into towns. This makes labor considerably more plentiful than in the older industrial sections. When a manager opens a new factory he can pick his employes more carefully, concentrating on the younger age groups. Employes who have a background of underpaid farm work and little choice in industrial employment prove to be more amenable to the new work procedures, increased workloads, the major shifts in what might be called "factory customs" that usually come when a modernized plant is put into operation. This leads to less turnover and lower rates of absenteeism.

It is remarkable, given the widespread popular belief to the contrary, that not one industry studied by the writers of "Why Industry Moves South" had found southern workers less efficient than others and many reported them more efficient, more eager to learn, and—of particular importance—much more willing to work third shifts.

A textile engineer of my acquaintance explained why his chain had decided to open a new plant in South Carolina rather than nearer the main market area:

Land was cheap, he said, allowing them to use the more efficient all-on-one-floor layout. The milder weather made construction a bit cheaper, too. Since most of the workers have cars, the company was able to set their factory down in the middle of the country rather than in or near a town. But the main attraction, he said, was the ease with which they could get people who are willing to work the midnight shift.

Industrial improvements in his line, it would seem, are moving so fast one cannot build a new mill without considering that it may be out-of-date in twelve to fifteen years. So plants are planned for more or less continuous operation. Being able to get labor for a third shift whenever needed without paying a premium would, in itself, make the location of great advantage.

The beautiful synthetic fabric factory this engineer helped to build and landscape sits in the middle of a particularly woebegone stretch of gullywashed cotton country, though around it are well fertilized lawns and pastures, owned by the company. The plant is air conditioned throughout. The cafeteria, used jointly by workers and management, could serve as a movie set for a fashionable café. During their lunch hour, employes, most of them young women from the nearby farms, stroll along the hallways to see attractively decorated show windows in which the management displays its own products made into dresses by famous couturiers, with signs telling the girls where they can buy the materials and patterns at a discount.

At night floodlights add to the factory's glamour. What tenant farm girl, seeing this sight, knowing its promise to her of almost a dollar an hour, is going to be disturbed by the thought of night work? She who has often picked cotton all day in the hot sun to earn a dollar will be slow to believe the word of organized textile workers in the North when they say the pace at which she must work in the new floodlit mill may endanger her own health and put a strain on older workers for whom she is unwittingly setting the pace.

The willingness of such young women to spend their nights tending spindles in southern mills has already had a direct effect on work standards in New England, where both managers and union representatives have been forced by southern competition to agree to changes in laws that once protected women from night work in factories.

UNTIL THE LATE 1930's, TEXTILES DOMINATED THE SOUTHern industrial picture as completely as cotton and tobacco growing dominated its agriculture. About half the industrial wages earned in the southern states today comes from work in either textile or garment factories. Fortunately, this system of "one crop industry" is changing. In the last decade the expansion of heavy industries paying relatively higher scales of wages has outstripped textile expansion.

Many of these heavy industries have expected that the new employes would be unionized; a few have even encouraged this. Strong and very genuine industrial trade unions exist in the South today in paper-making, rubber, auto assembly, chemicals, and aluminum. They join the strong unions in southern steel and coal that fought their way to recognition in the 1930's.

Few of these new unions could have gained a foothold without extensive financial aid from the North. Most still lean very heavily for direction upon their national organizations. In general, the locals are conservative, their members often apologetic. It is not uncommon to find them explaining that their own peculiar situation demands a trade union but they are seldom ready to give personal assistance to workers in other plants who are fighting for a union of their own. Away from the shop they are reluctant to be identified with the union. Labor seldom maintains in these new branch plants the

Many southern industrial wage earners also garden or farm

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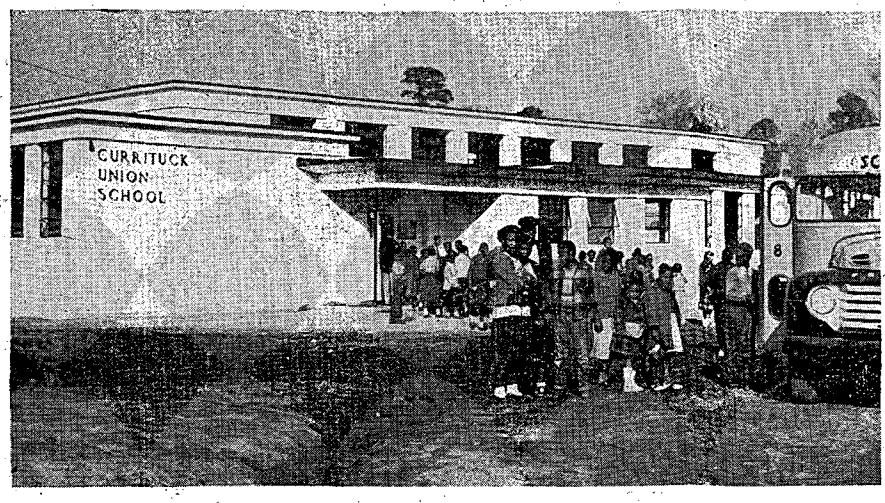

1951 version of the little red schoolhouse at a southern crossroads

power it holds in the more central locations where members have a tradition of trade union activity and where local political and governmental controls are as responsive to their pressures as to the employers'. Throughout their study McLaughlin and Robock show the attention given by new industries in picking their site to the attitude of state and local officials on such matters and the town's reputation for "maintaining industrial peace."

Ruled by state and local governments who see unionism as a bar to the industrial expansion they desperately need, surrounded by the mass of poor farming people who have the fixed idea that high union wages are responsible for their own low standard of living, plagued by racial difficulties that bring the democratic policies of national unions into dangerous (and easily exploitable) conflict with local customs and beliefs, threatened constantly by the influx of fresh workers from the farms willing to take jobs at almost any price—it is remarkable that these trade unions have made the progress in the South that they have. It is even more remarkable that violence has played such a relatively minor part in their formation.

The situation in textiles is quite different. Here in the South's oldest and still most important industry unions have contracts in fewer than one fifth of the mills, and in many of these their hold is tenuous.

There are good reasons why the CIO unions, in announcing their jointly financed and directed "Operation Dixie," three years ago focused their attention on textiles and have expended most of their effort since that time on this one industry. For in the southern textile situation lies a hard economic lesson for all organized labor.

As long as forty years ago textile manufacturers began moving south out of New England to escape the higher wages and lower work loads being forced upon them there. Last year Seabury Stanton, president of Hathaway Manufacturing Company of New Bedford, Massachusetts, and spokesman for a group of New England mill operators, told a congressional committee that slightly more than 80 percent of the cotton textile industry is now located in the South. Organization in the New England mills is almost complete. Since the unions had not been able to force upon the southern mills wages and working conditions that would give the mills of New England some basis for fair competition, Mr. Stanton was asking Congress to set minimum wages and working conditions that would make it possible for the New England group to stay in business. The wage differentials against which northern mills have to operate, said Mr. Stanton, amount to 20.7 cents an hour, when all "fringe" benefits are figured in.

This manufacturer was not speaking for the majority of textile chains whose largest holdings are already in the South and who are more and more limiting their expansion to this area. In some few instances manufacturers have moved machinery and facilities to escape union-imposed wages and workloads—"runaway shops" the union calls them. The vast majority of the shifts have a more complex background, but the results, in so far as the union is concerned, are the same.

With no strong union hold on their main production centers now, textile chains can play non-union plants off against union plants and *vice versa*. Recently, for example, the Roanoke Mills Company of Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, announced general wage increases in all plants except the one having a union contract. After several months of delay the matter was adjusted, but the union lost its contract the following year. Early in February of this year, when workers threatened to strike the woolen plant of the Stephens chain at Rockville, Connecticut, a notice appeared on the company's bulletin board saying the plant would shut down and move south if work loads equal to those in their southern plants were not accepted.

Until the federal government put a floor under wages with its NRA legislation in the early New Deal days, one found in southern textiles nearly the lowest wages and most appalling living and working conditions in the United States. Though there were outstanding exceptions, the industry was owned and run in small units. Competition was ruthless. Operations were sporadic—several months of day-and-night shift work and then equally long stretches of no work at all—while families used expensive credit at the company commissary to get side meat and corn meal.

The workers the textile plants attracted, again with outstanding exceptions, were people of little education whose childhood on tenant farms or in the back coves of the southern mountains had given them no preparation to fight in an organized way for their own betterment. The custom was to shut them off in mill villages where they continued to live in isolation, a bitter, violent, pitiful group whose towheaded children were taught their place as "mill-hand kids" whenever they ventured across the tracks in much the brutal manner that they, in their turn, taught Negro children the curse of being a different kind of outcast.

Fifteen years of prosperity have made a vast change in this picture. In the industry there has been a wholesale consolidation of the small, locally owned units into well financed mill chains, either by outright purchase or centralized financing and marketing. Modern personnel policies brought improved mill houses. Now the newer mills are not building houses at all. Workers travel in their own cars and live on small farms or in ordinary town neighborhoods.

Given another twenty years of prosperity, the old class distinctions between "mill hands" and other southern wage earners may disappear altogether. Today, how-

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ever, these class differences remain strong and show themselves clearly in the textile worker's attitude toward himself and his fellows—his lack of self-confidence, his mistrust of his own leaders in dealings with such superior beings as the boss, his preference for leaders that come to him from outside the "mill-hand" group and at the same time his readiness to turn upon that leadership whenever he is cowed. The class concept can be seen, too, in the typical middle class southerner's sincere disbelief when confronted with the idea that a textile worker is capable of having anything to say about his own place in the economic scheme of things.

SPORADIC UNION ACTIVITY IN SOUTHERN MILLS HAS EXISTED for two generations. Every few years long-suffered grievances would erupt into strikes that spread from one mill town to another, often with no reference to immediate causes. With little organization to guide them, these protests were more like peasant uprisings than purposeful strikes and were so regarded by most communities where the police, and on occasion the state troopers, were dispatched to deal with them.

After a period of excitement, a show of solidarity, many bloody brawls and enough shooting to frighten all but the bravest, the orgy would be over. Strikers straggled back through the mill gate, where the foreman waited to blacklist out of employment in his or any other mill in the district the ones he recognized as ring leaders. And if the authorities did not deal with whatever "outsider" might have been a party to the disturbance there were generally enough disillusioned textile workers to do the job themselves, often the same men—and women—who a few days before were beating up their fellow employes who wanted to go back to work.

Such was the great uprising of the late 1920's, when a handful of Communists were blamed for the months of turmoil around Gastonia and other towns in the Carolina textile strip. Such was the uprising of 1934, with its flying squadrons. Calls would come to a striking group from those still working in the next mill village: "Come pull us out. We want you to shut us down, too. They wanted leadership. They wanted to hit back at the boss. The idea of gaining through unionism a chance to achieve a measure of independence, to gain for themselves as ordinary textile workers a chance to help determine their own destiny and to bear responsibility for their part in it was beyond them.

The strikes of 1937-38 were more solidly based. The CIO had begun the painfully slow process of educating in the fundamentals of trade unionism what textile workers it could reach in this climate notably unhealthy for union organizers. A few contracts were gained.

With the advent of the Wagner Act and the National Labor Relations Board it seemed a new era had come for the textile worker and his union. Under this government-sponsored arrangement there appeared to be a way for them to get union recognition and collective bargaining without resorting to pitched battles. For a brief time this was the case and though community opposition was still great certain headway was made.

Then war-born prosperity, new personnel policies of the larger mills, and those minimum wage laws organized labor itself had fought so hard to get through Congress began to make textile organization even more difficult. The "mill hands" found they were getting better wages and working conditions—as their employers kept informing them pointedly—"without having to pay tribute to any outside union bosses."

Still, grievances did keep popping up and locals were formed. Seemingly realizing the necessity for solid organization rather than emotional outbursts the CIO's textile union leaders set out on a policy of organizing through NLRB elections. Their first few victories brought demands for contracts giving wages and working conditions similar to those won in the northern mills. The industry massed to combat this approach with the same kind of determination.

While the textile union was able to win many elections in the mills, the full record shows that this peaceful means of organization brought very few actual contracts into effect. For the election results being legally

Many plants provide recreational facilities, such as this yarn mill pool for workers and their families.

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sanctioned depended ultimately for enforcement not upon strikes but upon the actions of the courts. Court action means delay. While the lawyers squabbled and fenced there was plenty of time for the employer to show those workers taking an active part in the union's campaign the error of their ways.

Time after time, a year or two elapsed between the day the union won the right to negotiate and the day NLRB's staff could give a ruling on their protest that the employer refused to bargain in good faith. Meanwhile, the local chapter would have disintegrated, its membership frightened, or disillusioned, or simply fed up. Some hearings were stretched out over a five-year period, and when they eventually reached the U. S. District Court the employers found a remarkably simple solution. They would agree to negotiate, following another election, and the whole round would start over again.

BURLINGTON MILLS CORPORATION RUNS FORTY-FIVE MILLS in the South. Union organization has been undertaken in fifteen of these. The NLRB has issued at least nine orders directing the company to cease and desist from unfair labor practices, such as interference with employes in their right to organize, discharges of employes for union activity, and refusal to bargain in good faith. In at least two instances the Board secured enforcement decrees in the federal courts. Though the union has been certified as bargaining representative in eight of Burlington's mills over the last twelve years, not a single agreement has ever been negotiated.

This summary of Burlington Mills' relations with the textile union appears in a recently released report of the Senate's Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations. The report describes textile management's methods of defeating the unions in some detail. It will be sufficient here to say that, despite the still widely scattered ownership prevalent in the industry, methods used by various managements are strikingly similar. Warnings about closing down the mill if the union wins the election are included in almost uniformly worded letters from the manager to his employes; the same "national religious monthlies" carrying stories about the foreign birth and non-Anglo Saxon lineage of union leaders appear free of charge in workers' mail boxes; the same pictures of CIO officials dining with Negroes are distributed on handbills; the same law firms are used as consultants in directing both the management's campaign before the elections and in handling whatever Labor Board cases might arise after they are over.

Since the southern textile employers did not give the Senate subcommittee the benefit of testimony, we do not have a similarly documented account of union tactics. It is obvious, however, that the industry group is matching labor's united southern drive with its own.

Industry's view is that the South—and the southern worker—does not want or need unionism and it is going to protect employes from what it considers dues-extortion. The CIO claims the southern worker is being exploited in the same way that northern workers were before they won union contracts and that they have never been given a chance to make up their own minds about unions, freed from the feudal domination of the boss, the local police, and hostile public opinion.

Whoever is right, the original Wagner Act, if its administration had been well enough manned and financed to give speedy justice, would have afforded each side a chance to prove its point without undue coercion of the workers themselves. Now, weakened by Taft-Hartley amendments and the systematic legal evasion adopted as a common tactic by employers, NLRB offers no such chance for peaceful solution.

The unions are not going to cut off their southern drive. Money to finance it will still keep coming not only from textile unions in the North who see that every new unorganized factory in the South threatens their own standards but also from other unions who know that if the textile industry is able to shed its union-enforced standards in this way, other industries are likely to follow its example.

Tactics of organization may change, however. At present the textile drive is directed and manned by a group of dedicated young men. Matured in the New Deal decade, they operate on the principle that government and the courts will eventually respond to what they consider the needs and desires of the people with whom they work. They hold summer conferences where textile workers get training in community organization, labor history, and political action. They hold institutes in Washington where delegates from local unions hear speeches by congressmen, economists, experts on foreign affairs.

The older trade unionists who have come to the southern drive from coal, steel, and other unions who fought their way to recognition with the aid of brass knuckles, matching goon squad with goon squad, are growing impatient with these methods. The gradualists, they say, haven't any hope of getting legal justice in the obviously hostile southern courts or fair dealing from the obviously hostile southern law enforcement officers. They contend southern unions must make their own "justice" the way it has been made, for example, in the coal fields.

THE CIO'S TEXTILE UNION HAS MANY LEADERS OF OUTstanding ability whose services are sought often by the federal government, universities, and foundations. Unfortunately this union is at present weakened by internal disputes, stemming in part from genuine differences of opinion over tactics but largely the result of frustration and discouragement as more and more employers, taking their cue from the success of the southern opposition, stand out against long established union agreements. Thus, a national union that was approaching mature responsibility in the field of labor-management relations is threatened at its foundations.

Strikes and more strikes can be expected in southern textiles; violence and more violence. The battle will go on between management and labor for America's newest labor market and the South will continue to improve its economic status in the meanwhile.

A new generation of industrial workers—better fed, in better health, more knowledgeable than their parents—will soon represent a majority of the southern people. Business is already beginning to flourish through their energy and spending power. And if some greater element of political and economic democracy can be made part of the South's new life, then the country as a whole will benefit from its renaissance.

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Mrs. Havia's Race Against Time

The stubborn, heroic effort of a Finnish family to keep together and to re-establish a home could be repeated almost endlessly around the war-ravaged world.

PILTTI HEISKANEN

Having milked her cows, Anna Havia, the owner of a small farm on the Karelian Isthmus, Finland, was crossing the courtyard of her house, early in the morning of November 30, 1939. She saw a red fire which lit the whole southeasterly horizon. It was accompanied by a steady, rolling sound. For a few seconds she thought it was a thunderstorm, then realized that the weather was freezing cold. She stood in the dark courtyard a moment longer, watching the flaming sky in the direction of the Soviet border, fifteen miles away. Then she went quickly into the house and woke her children. Her thoughts were with her husband who was with the Finnish Army, in the direction of the fire. Before the short day had turned dark again, the family was fleeing from home, leaving practically all their possessions behind for the enemy.

This scene was repeated in about 100,000 Finnish families. That winter started for them a period of war, evacuation, living in other people's corners, armistice, again war, return to old, burned-down homes, rebuilding, again fleeing, again living in the homes of others, once more building new homes.

When Mrs. Havia was standing in her yard, witnessing the beginning of the Soviet invasion which was to make her homeless, I was doing the same from another point, 15 miles to the west. I fought with the Finnish Army through the Winter War and when it was over I came to the United States.

In 1948, I went back to Finland and remained for more than eight months, the first GI student in that country. I wanted to find out what had become of the displaced Finns, and in what way the extensive government measures had helped them.

To do this I chose Mrs. Havia's old village for a case study. About 400 persons had lived there in 1939. I traced them to their new homes and saw some 60 percent of them, Mrs. Havia and her family among them. Here is her story, as she told it to me, a story which underscores the problems of health, housing, family relationships, morale, common to the world's displaced millions.

"I was never so much aware of time as I am now," she said. "When somebody asks what day it is I look at the clock on the wall. Every hour that passes is a victory for me and I am looking for the next one to be gone, too.

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—By a new American, formerly a journalist in Finland, now studying for his doctorate in social science at the New School for Social Research in New York City.

"It is because of the trouble in my lungs. About a year ago I had a hemorrhage and I have had four more since. The doctor says my lungs are pretty bad. 'You should go to the sanatorium, Mrs. Havia,' he says, 'so that you would live longer.' Me in a sanatorium! With whose money? Who would take care of the cows?"

The war years caused great increase of sickness in Finland. Between 1943 and 1946, a diphtheria epidemic claimed about 4,000 lives. But it was tuberculosis which took the heaviest toll during the war period. Since the war, much preventive work has been done, with the help of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, and virtually every child now has been inoculated against TB.

"About two more years, I figure, and I will be ready to die," Mrs. Havia continued. "By that time, Pekka will be eighteen. Now he is too young to take care of the house, even with the help of the younger children. The doctor doesn't say whether I will live two more years. I can't tell myself. Sometimes I feel weak and don't want to get up in the morning. Sometimes I am better. I don't have to look at the mirror to know that my face is white and thin. I have no flesh any place. No, I am not going to die of old age. I am only a little over forty and I come from a long-lived family. But now I hope I will last just two more years. And that Pekka won't get my sickness."

This question of manpower—which includes also womanpower—is of the greatest importance to the displaced farmer. Whether he returns to the land or tries to start a new life in a city or town turns on that point. The household's economic recovery depends largely on the number of strong arms in the family. Mrs. Havia's family really lacked manpower for a farm. But she was attached to the land, as she showed in returning constantly to the thought that if she and her children together can span the next few lean manpower years, they can hold on to the farm. She had been forced to use part of her meager capital to buy the house because there was nobody to build one.

"I guess I better go out and see how Pekka is getting along with the plowing," Mrs. Havia reminded herself. "Isn't the wind cold for May? I'll put a jacket over my shoulders. It's a man's jacket. Lots of women in Finland wear a man's jacket now, or an American army jacket. This is my man's—a Russian prisoner of war stabbed him." As we walked along Mrs. Havia continued her story.

"Our fields run all the way from here to the river. We got some of the steep river bank. We had to buy it;

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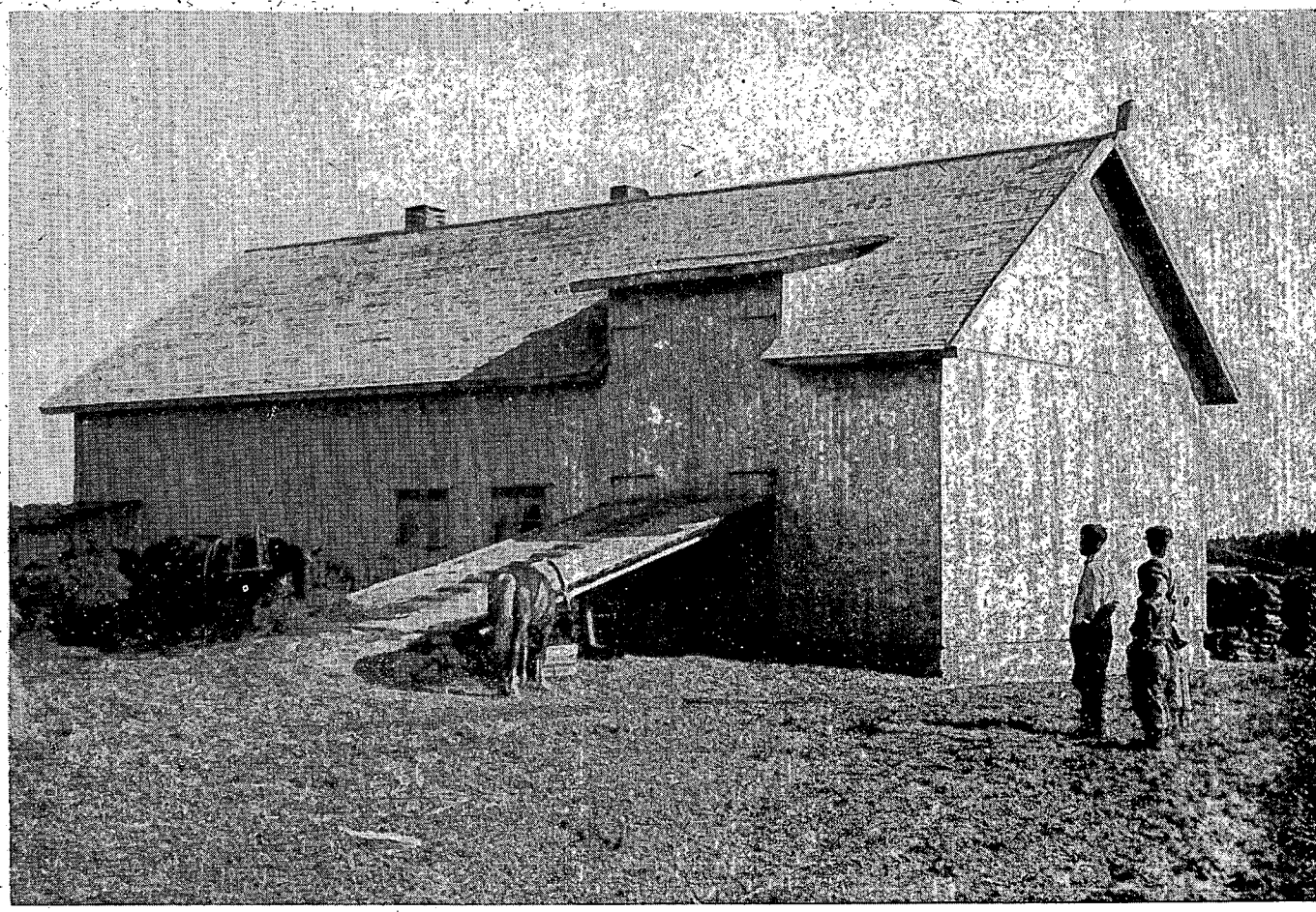

there was nothing else at the moment, but it's tough on the boy and tough on the horse.

"He is small for his age, Pekka is. That's the way with farm boys who start working too early. But he has broad shoulders and he is strong. In two years he will be a man.

"I guess he will need a woman when I keel over. Every farm needs a woman. And children, to take over later on. A neighbor down the road, in that direction, got scared when his only son was wounded in the war. His old woman wasn't young any more, but they both hoped against hope and now they have a new generation coming up, a boy baby.

"I wonder what kind of a woman Pekka will get. I hope she will be strong and not shy of working fifteen hours a day. A wife is cheaper to keep in the long run than a maid. You don't have to pay wages for a wife and you get more work out of her. And you get kids growing up.

"The horse is getting old but she will last a few more years. She is a good girl. When we left Karelia the first time, I took the four children and put them in the sleigh. She pulled us half the way through Finland. It took her three weeks to do it but she did it. She had a colt following her but when we got past Viipuri his hoofs got all worn down and he just wanted to lie down on the road and not get up any more. We tried to keep him. We tied work gloves under his hoofs but it didn't help. I had to sell him on the way. He went to a good home.

"That was 1939. My husband was still living at that time but he was at the front. We were just fifteen miles from the Russian border and when they attacked we had

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Opposite, above, a barn where a displaced family from Mrs. Havia's village lives with their horses and cows; *below,* an evacuee housewife kneads bread in the new house the family is building. Finnish farmers raise and process virtually all their food.

Right, an evacuee in his farm cart stops for a roadside chat; *below,* a tiny *sauna* (steam bath) serves as a temporary home for some of Mrs. Havia's neighbors.

All photos by the author

to leave in a hurry. I took the children, the colt, the cows, and some of my clothing. And the horse, of course. I put all my three skirts on. The pig was shot right in the pen. I've always felt sorry for the chickens. They were roasted alive when the house and the barn were burned down. Maybe they died of smoke right away.

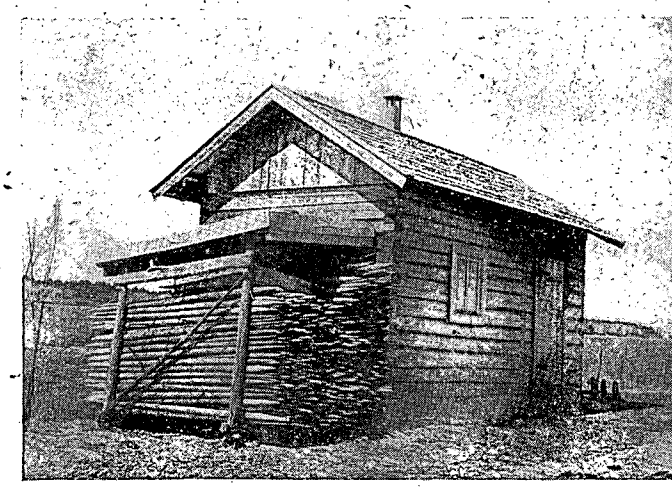
"In 1942 we went back home, but in 1944 we had to leave a second time. My man had been killed by the prisoner and we went alone again. There were three hundred Russian prisoners in our village, helping with the farming. I learned some Russian from them. They were good workers and they didn't cause any trouble until one stabbed Heikki. There were just the three soldiers guarding them, Heikki and two more. When that happened I remembered how a Cossack had hit me with a whip in 1918.

"Things were all right before the war. Sure, we had to work hard. We cleared ten acres of field from a thick forest, with just an ax and hoe. In the end, we didn't have to buy anything we ate except coffee and sugar and salt.

"Now everything is different but it was worse in between. It took us some time before we got this place. Sleeping between newspapers on floors of houses with broken windows was what made me sick. We all got fever but the kids were stronger. Sometimes we came to a good house. In one place we were put in the best room. I warned the kids not to go. 'You'll scratch the linoleum floors,' I said."

THE PROBLEM OF LIVING QUARTERS FOR THE EVACUEES WAS difficult. Nearly half a million evacuees moved into Southern Finland. Living with strangers, cooking on one hearth with them, caused endless friction.

Soon a land reform program was started. To date, this has given land to about 40,000 evacuee families and also to well over 75,000 war widows, orphans, and veterans, and to certain tenants and agricultural laborers. A building program followed. Most of those who settled in the country, did the building themselves. Cultivating their new land at the same time, they often started by



making a barn for the animals. When that was ready, they moved to the horse barn, letting the horse live in the cow barn for a while. Or they began by building a *sauna* (steam-bath), a tiny building practically every rural Finnish home has. When the *sauna* was ready, the family lived in it until they had time to build the house.

The land program kept together a good portion of the population of each evacuated village, and the old village leaders continued to function in the new community. There was never need in Finland for displaced persons camps. Everybody was given a chance to help himself and in that way to help the country.

"It was our good luck that Jussi and Hanna, the second and third children, were sent to Sweden right after the war," Mrs. Havia continued. "That was the toughest time here in Finland. When they came back after three years they didn't know one single word of Finnish—they couldn't even say 'mother.' They wanted to go back the same night. They cried for three weeks in Swedish. Pekka and I had to watch them so they wouldn't run away."

During and after the war Sweden took care of about 100,000 Finnish children, most of them from evacuated families; Denmark also took several thousand.

When the war broke out between the Finns and the

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Germans, in the fall of 1944, the whole civilian population was evacuated from Finnish Lapland, the scene of the military operations. Over 50,000 of these were sent to Sweden. When the war ended, eight months later, and the population of Lapland returned, they found nearly all the homes burned or damaged. However, there had been no civilian casualties.

"I guess we are not worse off than others. Every family has troubles, too. I heard about one family on the border which had their land full of mines. They have dug up two hundred of them, small children helping. All we dig up is stones.

"We will be all right if I hold out until Pekka grows up. And if peace lasts. He is a strong boy. I will always remember when we left the second time, the cows' feet got sore after a few miles and we almost had to leave them behind for the enemy. There is nothing as bad as being without cows when you have to flee with young children. I asked Pekka to stay with the cows and to drive them slowly to the place where I was going. He was eleven then. I took the horse and put the other children in the wagon. All the way I worried about the cows. I didn't worry much about Pekka. I knew he would be all right.

"If I have two more years to live he will be old enough to keep the farm. If I let it go now, I know the children will never have a home of their own. I paid for it with the bonds the government gave me for the two houses we lost in Karelia. One was burned in the Winter War and when we returned in 1942 we built a new house in the old place. That was burned down in 1944.

"I didn't put the fire to the houses myself. I didn't have the heart. The soldiers did it. I guess a farmer never burns his own house."

THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT PAID FOR THE LOSSES OF THE evacuees. The needed money was raised by a capital levy which taxed away about 10 percent of all property in Finland, above a certain minimum. A short and somewhat simplified description of the operation would be like this:

Ten percent of the Finnish population lost all their property, the other 90 percent lost none. The Finnish parliament passed laws which shaved off 10 percent of the property of the larger group, giving it to the have-nots. Then everybody had 90 percent of his original wealth.

"Sometimes I still wonder if it was right to leave Pekka behind with the cows. I guess it was. Losing a cow is sometimes almost as tough as losing a child.

"Anyway, he did what I asked him to do. When the airplanes started bombing he ran after the cows which had gone wild. He was a light boy at that time and he couldn't hold the two of them. I don't think he weighed much over seventy pounds. Even one could pull him off his feet. Finally he found them both in a forest.

"With Pekka and me it is a race against time. He is doing his best to get older. I am trying to keep on living a little longer. I hope the two of us will make it. Then I will be ready to die. I think I better sit down on this stone and rest.

"He is a smart boy. After he found the cows he decided to take them to a railroad and try to get them on a train. I hadn't thought of telling him about that. But when the bombers came over again and he saw a woman near him at the railroad station blown to pieces, he fainted. As soon as he came to he went right after the cows and found them again in a forest.

"It is funny how the cows in Finland got to be air-minded, like the rest of us, always looking for a hiding place whenever a plane passed over, always running into the bushes, their tails straight out.

"We are living better now than last year. The year before was a bad one. We even had to buy bread. A hail storm destroyed almost everything we planted. When the government estimator came around I was in the church and did not see him, so I never got money for the damage. I wonder if I should still ask for it.

"The cows were a big help. We did get them back finally, although Pekka lost them for a time. When he got to Lahti some officials got the idea that such a small boy shouldn't go into a barge where the cows were. 'They would trample him,' they said, though he had brought them alone all the way from the Isthmus. So they put him into another boat and that's how he got separated from the cows.

"When I saw him without the animals he was all tears. I went to get them myself from the other harbor. Then I waded into the lake waist deep and cut some grass for them that nobody else wanted.

"For a year Pekka couldn't sleep any place except in my bed, because of the terror of seeing the woman blown to pieces. Then I knew he was just a child, after all.

"I guess he is still a little ashamed that he didn't bring the cows all the way. He was sixteen a few days ago and this is the last year I will get the government allowance for him. 'Buy yourself a suit for confirmation with it,' I said.

"If only this river bank wasn't so steep! It is so hard for the boy to work it. We had no muddy river in Karelia—just a lake, as clear as can be. It had almost the shape of a heart. In the summer, when we got up on Sunday to go to church, the lake looked so pretty. We could see the white church on the other side and the sound of the bell came over the water. A picture of the church stood upside down in the lake. When I think of home I think of those Sunday mornings on the Isthmus.

"When we left we had to leave almost everything. We were told to take just what the horse could pull. It is hard to decide in a couple of hours what you should take after you have worked all your life to get things you wanted to have. Some got all mixed up. Our neighbor lugged over a hundred pounds of salt all the way through Finland. 'The next time I leave, I know I wouldn't take salt,' he said afterward. A relative of mine took a rooster and a pair of clippers. 'What did you take him for?' I asked her. 'If you had taken a hen you could now get an egg a day and if you had taken a lamb you could cut the wool with the clippers.' She said she just didn't know and I thought that I understood what she meant. Sometimes I tease my children they were lucky I didn't take a bag of salt instead of them.

"I guess I had better tell Pekka to finish for the day. See, the horse is steaming.

"It looks like a good time to plant potatoes. I hope we'll get enough rain this summer.

"I'll walk closer, instead of calling him. The doctor told me not to talk too loud, because of the lungs."

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On the Labor-Management Front

JOHN A. FITCH

AN ATTEMPT TO REVEAL PICTORIALLY THE NATURE OF THE present impasse between organized labor and the Office of Defense Mobilization appears in the form of a cartoon in the March 8 issue of the *U. S. News and World Report*—attributed to the *Des Moines Register Tribune*. A troubled looking gentleman labeled "Wilson" and an unworried character holding the reins and a whip and labeled "Industry" are sitting at the front of a light one-horse wagon marked "Economic Mobilization." Behind, where there is no seat, "Farmer" is perched on the side of the wagon while "Labor" having rejected the edge of a board for a seat, is running off with the right hind wheel as he shouts, "I either help drive or else. . . ." The caption reads, "Not satisfied with a back seat."

This cartoon, which might well have appeared in the *CIO News* is used to illustrate an article explaining that while "outwardly" the current argument concerns inflation, "inwardly" it is merely an effort on the part of the labor leaders to "regain the power they lost in the last election" and to "force a show-down on the issue of their power in advance of the uncertain outcome of next year's election."

The justification offered for the walkout, the *News* reports, was a wage control formula that "offered labor nearly everything it had asked," a formula, moreover that "in some quarters . . . has been interpreted as an open invitation to wage increases."

This interpretation, of the controversy which is playing havoc with administration plans in Washington, is cited here because it represents a view that is more or less characteristic of editorial reaction in much of the daily press. This view tends to center around the idea that by its recent behavior organized labor is manifesting an unwillingness to make sacrifices at a time of national emergency and that it won't play ball unless it can have its own way.

What are the facts upon which these judgments are based? Some of them are obscure, but a general outline of the background of the controversy is possible, as well as a summary of some of the more obvious developments.

The Office of Defense Mobilization was created by the President on December 16, 1950. Charles E. Wilson, formerly president of the General Electric Company, is director. The Economic Stabilization Agency is a division of the foregoing with Eric Johnston, head of the Motion Picture Association of America and a former president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, in charge. Under his direction is the Office of Price Stabilization, and the Wage Stabilization Board. Michael V. DiSalle, former mayor of Toledo, heads up the price agency, and the chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board is Cyrus S. Ching, on leave from his position as director of the U. S. Mediation and Conciliation Service. This board as created consisted of nine members—two public members besides Mr. Ching, three industry members and three labor members. Mr. Wilson has as principal advisers General Lucius D. Clay, now chairman of the Continental Can Company, and Sidney Weinberg, a New York banker. Until the recent revolt a few labor men occupied advisory positions at various levels in the mobilization machinery.

FROM time to time, Mr. Fitch will comment in our pages on current developments in the field of industrial relations.

At one time industry editor of *The Survey*, he was for some years head of the industrial department at the New York School of Social Work and a member of the National Railway Labor Panel, and now is an extension lecturer on the staff of the School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell.

As a result of several orders and modifications of orders either recommended by the Wage Stabilization Board and approved by Mr. Johnston, or issued by him directly, the wage situation as this is written is as follows:

Basic wages are frozen at the level existing on January 25, 1951. To allow for increases in the cost of living wages may be raised in the amount of 10 percent over the base rate. In reckoning the percentage of increase, costs of fringe benefits agreed to on or before January 25, 1951, will not be taken into account, but those agreed to after that date will be. Similarly "escalator" clauses, providing for periodic adjustments to bring wages in line with increased living costs will not be a factor in establishing the wage ceiling if written into contracts on or before January 25, but after that date wage increases and cost of living adjustments together must not exceed 10 percent. "Hardship" and "inequities" are to be dealt with on a case-by-case basis. These rulings are subject to reconsideration at the end of June.

During the process of arriving at these rulings there was continual controversy and when the principal decisions were reached on February 16, the three labor members of the Wage Stabilization Board resigned. This was done at the instance of the United Labor Policy Committee which was set up last December to coordinate labor policy in connection with mobilization and stabilization activities. It consists of the top brass in the AFL, the CIO, the railroad unions, and other large independents — but not the United Mine Workers. On February 28, the Policy Committee called on all labor representatives serving in an advisory capacity in any of the defense mobilization agencies to resign "im-

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mediately."

Contemporaneously with these resignations the Committee issued statements designed to explain its actions to its constituency and to the public. The story thus set forth is complicated and at times difficult to follow, but a piecing together of salient points from many sources reveals a picture somewhat as follows:

The 10 percent ceiling appears to have been a compromise. The cost of living as revealed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumers Price Index rose rapidly after June 1950, and was still rising at the end of the year. To allow for this and further upward trends, labor wanted to place the ceiling at 12 percent. Industry members argued that the rise from January 1950 to January 1951 was 8 percent and that the ceiling should be fixed to correspond.

The Policy Committee pointed out that prices were not under control, and that until they were, the margin for wage increases should be wider. In fact, the Committee charged, "The price stabilization program is a cynical hoax on the American people. A so-called freeze on prices was announced at a moment when prices were higher than ever before in history. . . . Economic Stabilizer Eric Johnston and Price Stablizer Michael DiSalle have both announced that nothing they can or will do under the Defense Production Act will stop the cost of living from rising another 6 percent by next summer."

Stanley H. Ruttenberg, director of research for the CIO, told the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report that labor would accept a program that would allow adjustment of wages to changes in the cost of living "on the theory that if we were really successful with an anti-inflation program it would be unnecessary for wages to move up in relation to prices because prices would be stationary." But that is not what is happening. "Wages are frozen," said the Policy Committee—"Nothing else."

With this conclusion the *United States News* appears to be in agreement. In the same issue in which it holds that the effort of the labor leaders is designed only to recoup their political fortunes, the *News* refers to "The U. S. price freeze" that "is so clearly thawing," and states flatly, "Price control program is going forward at a snail's pace. . . . Actually, OPS has little hope of any price stability until midsummer at the earliest."

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ANOTHER POINT OF CONTROVERSY RELATES TO MANPOWER policies. The Policy Committee states that Mr. Wilson has seized control in this area "without ever discussing the matter with his labor advisory committee." Labor thinks that manpower policies should be handled by the Department of Labor and it distrusts the Office of Defense Mobilization. "No American wage or salary earner," the Policy Committee declares, "may feel safe that the big business clique in control of that agency may not suddenly seek to achieve a compulsory draft of the nation's workers."

On March 11, it was announced that former Senator Frank P. Graham of North Carolina had been appointed Defense Manpower Administrator in the Department of Labor. What effect this may have on the situation remains to be seen.

The attitude of suspicion toward the "big business clique in control" indicated above may be the most important factor in the whole controversy. At the same time it is, of all the factors, the most involved and difficult to untangle. How much of labor's irritation on this subject has a solid foundation of fact, and how much of it may be due to difficult personalities on both sides is anybody's guess.

Labor says that all the top policy men are drawn from big business, and this appears to be true. They have asked to have a labor man at Mr. Wilson's elbow, equal in status with General Clay and Mr. Weinberg. To date this desire has remained unfulfilled. Apparently the Labor Policy Committee asked Mr. Wilson early in January both to name a labor advisory group in the Office of Defense Mobilization, and a labor man to a responsible post in his office, as well as to admit labor representation to all policy and administration levels. Apparently, also, he accepted the idea of a labor advisory group, but gave little attention to the other requests. Nevertheless, in February George Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks was appointed by Mr. Johnston as his "special assistant."

In February also, the United Labor Policy Committee sent a letter to Mr. Wilson, renewing their request of the previous month to have a labor man in the top office. Mr. Wilson's reply, more than a week later, said that he had "previously advised" the Labor Policy Committee that he "would be glad to consider" this proposal—a statement that was immediately denied by the Committee. A week later, the Committee said that they would give careful consideration to Mr. Wilson's "belated invitation," but a week after that, the United Labor Policy Committee said in its formal statement giving reasons for the withdrawal of all labor representatives from defense agencies that such representation and also that "which is now offered are merely for the purpose of window dressing."

On March 7, Mr. Wilson was reported to have said to a reporter, "I'm damned if I know what they want."

The *United States News,* in its issue of March 9 says of Mr. Wilson, "As top man of General Electric he was accustomed to running a great industrial empire in his own way. . . . Mr. Wilson, now 64, makes his own decisions and sticks to them, battles for them. He can be quick tempered, and is prone to speak his mind abruptly in a loud and raspy voice. Political factors—such as labor's situation—do not weigh heavily with him. The labor leaders find Mr. Wilson's personality abrasive."

To sum up, the labor men believe that no serious effort is being made to control prices and that a definite ceiling on wages is therefore arbitrary and unjust. They see big business men running the stabilization agencies and labor men relegated to subordinate positions. However fair-minded these business men may be, personally, labor's resentment is understandable. Whether it was good judgment to withdraw in hot anger in February, without making further efforts at adjustment is another question.

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A FURTHER POINT OF DIFFERENCE WITH THE INDUSTRY leaders relates to the question of an agency to handle labor-management disputes during the emergency period. Labor wants a board like the War Labor Board of World War II to handle both wage stabilization and all disputes not ironed out in collective bargaining. Industry wants two boards, with the disputes board handling only "eco-

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nomic" controversies. As this is written, efforts to solve this controversy had made little headway. In the meantime, a refusal of Economic Stabilizer Johnston to approve a wage agreement in the meat-packing industry that went beyond the 10 percent formula, had led to a threat of a nationwide strike.

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THAT PART OF THE WAGE STABILIZATION FORMULA RELATING to "escalator" clauses has directed particular attention to the recent agreement between the railroads and the unions of non-operating employes, negotiated at the White House on March 1. The agreement gave the employes an increase of 12½ cents an hour on the average hourly wage of $1.48, which was within the 10 percent limit of the stabilization order. But the contract provides also for a cost-of-living adjustment every three months, beginning with April. The adjustment on that date, if made in accordance with the contract, apparently will bring the wage rise to a point greater than 10 percent. The stabilization order, it will be remembered, does not permit escalator clauses negotiated after January 25 to operate to the extent of penetrating the wage ceiling. Which will give way—the Johnston formula, or the wage agreement arrived at in the White House with the assistance and approval of John Steelman, assistant to the President—is an interesting question.

The speed with which the settlement was reached in the non-operating case, after four months of negotiations, is in sharp contrast to the two-year struggle to settle the dispute between the railroads and the four brotherhoods representing the operating men, which is still before the Mediation Board. John Steelman, who successfully mediated the case involving the "non-ops" had, it was supposed, settled the other dispute also, when a tentative agreement was signed at the White House in December 1950 by representatives of the railroads and the chiefs of the four brotherhoods. That agreement had to be referred to the general chairman, representing the employes on each of the railroads, and they, with practical unanimity, rejected it.

With the railroads technically in the hands of the government—seizure having been effected last summer because of strikes and threatened strikes—and with injunctions restraining strike action, the controversy continues to be a problem for the railroads, the brotherhoods, and the National Mediation Board.

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OTHER RAILROAD LABOR DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN RECENT months include the inauguration of a new union, to be known as the United Railway Workers, which will attempt to organize in one body all the operating men now represented by the brotherhoods. This organization, reminiscent of the American Railway Union organized by Eugene V. Debs in the early Nineties, got off to a limited start in Columbus, Ohio, in March.

Another move to organize railway workers was launched in January by the CIO and was said to be directed toward the unorganized among the non-operating men. This is a field long pre-empted by AFL unions, and came at a time when the effort toward unity in the labor movement had appeared to be stronger than at any time since the creation of the CIO in 1936.

As a matter of fact, events seem to be stirring an impulse in the direction of cooperation if not unity. Identical aims on the political field, and a sense of common danger arising from the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act have been leading AFL and CIO increasingly to cooperate on local and state levels. The organization of the United Labor Policy Committee last December has established a united front on the national level. It will be a long time before the barriers that separate the two federations can be broken down to a point where organic unity may be possible, but that nothing like the old bitterness and conflict between them will again arise, is a reasonable belief.

CLOSED CYCLE

George Ebey

All things melancholy have a sound
implicit with remembrance: rain
tapping on the window pane;
footsteps on deserted ground.

Voices of old newspapers heard
as whispering headlines in the gutter:
yesterday muted to a mutter —
a sound both melancholy and absurd.

The pressure of the world betrays
sunk bodies into sustenance for weeds;
mocks grief with procreation and proceeds
to smother sorrow in a wealth of days.

The memory turns to no avail
on footsteps and the moving rain:
these transitory things remain
as transient as a fingernail.

The seasons go from fall to fall.
The long ships go from dock to dock.
The clock hands clasp upon the clock:
this is the saddest sound of all.

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On Behalf of Young Migrants

What one state is trying to do to better the lot of the rootless, neglected, unschooled children whose families "follow the crops."

LOUISA R. SHOTWELL

"WHY GO HOME SO EARLY, BETTY?" ASKED THE teacher at the child care center. "The trucks haven't begun to come in from the fields. It may be hours before your mother and father are back."

Betty, aged twelve, expertly shifted her baby sister to a one-arm hold and with her free hand detached a dubious apple core from the mouth of her four-year-old brother. Then in a matter-of-fact tone she answered: "They like for me to have supper hot when they get in."

Skeptical of this explanation, the teacher persisted: "What will you give them to eat?"

"Same's we allus have, b'cause it's all I can cook," replied Betty without rancor. "Spaghetti 'n' mashed potatoes 'n' jello. See ya tomorrow, Miss Edith."

As the days went by, the teachers at the center pieced together the story of Betty and her people. It was fairly typical of the army of migrant agricultural families whose lives of grinding poverty, toil, and insecurity form one of the blackest blots on our national life today.

For the first six years of her life, Betty's home had been a two-room shack in a Kentucky mining town. During a prolonged strike in 1943 her father piled his family and such household goods as they could carry into the family jalopy and took to the road, finding work wherever extra hands were needed for picking fruit or for vegetable harvest. And so, during her second six years, Betty's home had shifted to any spot where the crops were ripe. This summer, home became "beans" in central New York and one room in a crowded, insanitary migrant labor camp, where she and her mother took their turn at meal-times with thirty others at one of the half dozen rusty wood stoves in the cook shack.

But here there was a difference. For the first time the family had landed in a camp with a child care center. It seemed too good to be true that from six-thirty in the morning, when the big trucks rolled in to transport the mothers and fathers to the bean fields, until their return anywhere between five and nine at night, there was a place where children could be safe and well fed.

Not many parents sent children over nine years old to the center, but Betty's father insisted that while the beans were "running good" they could afford the twenty-five cents a day to send Betty along with the younger ones and try to get her fattened up with some of that cod liver oil.

Most of the 20,000 seasonal laborers whom New York recruits annually for fruit and vegetable harvest follow the crops from Florida and Georgia up the eastern seaboard, traveling in family groups. About 4,000 of them are children under fourteen. They hit New York in June or early July, make occasional moves within the state, often remain north through October. They are concentrated in five areas, from the potatoes and cauliflower of Suffolk County at the east end of Long Island, through the fruit counties of the lower Hudson River Valley, and the fertile Mohawk and Finger Lake farms to the orchards and vineyards south of Buffalo.

The migrant's earnings vary with the weather and the market. His employment is irregular. He has no social security, no minimum wage; nor has he voting residence, community ties, a place where he belongs. It was a grower who remarked: "It's always the lowest income group on whom we depend. Who else wants to work that hard for that little money?"

For the migrants' children this means catch-as-catch-can schooling, two weeks here and three months there; a chip-on-the-shoulder feeling that other people are going to reject them as dirty, ignorant, irresponsible; fear of never having enough of anything; erratic home discipline; no stable social relationships.

One child clung to the teacher as her family called to

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—By the associate secretary of the Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches, formerly the Home Missions Council of America.

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her to get into the truck to move to the next crop, wailing, "Every time I find a friend I have to lose her!", A boy boasted of four fathers—each of them filled the role successively as the mother and children moved from camp to camp.

The New York State child labor regulation fixes the minimum working age at sixteen, though working permits may be granted for children who are fourteen. What happens to the younger children when all the rest of the family go to the fields at six in the morning to work till dark? Some are left in camp to run wild. Others are taken to the fields and staked out at the end of the row; or if the government agent does not come around to check, they may pick, too.

THE IDEA OF PROVIDING A PLACE FOR CHILDREN OF migrants to be looked after while elders work in the fields was introduced into New York State in Cortland County in 1931. It was initiated by the Home Missions Council, a church agency which represented a number of demonominations in providing service to migrant families.

Year by year, growers in various parts of the state began to request help from the Home Missions Council in setting up and managing child care centers. The plan was fostered by local citizens groups which worked with growers to raise funds for staff salaries and stimulate donations of crib sheets, toys, sunsuits, and food for a daily hot lunch. But the plan spread slowly. By 1942 there were six of these child care centers in the state. As a result of federal funds made available under the Lanham Act, the number jumped to twenty in 1943.

When, in 1946, federal funds were withdrawn and the state put funds into the program, it became illegal for a religious agency to administer it, so the state and the growers' association took it over on a cooperative basis.

In 1949, eleven child care centers in seven counties gave a total of 15,986 days of care to 622 children. But the summer of 1950 witnessed a drop to eight centers in six counties, partly because of consolidation but chiefly because of a cut in state funds.

At present, 85 percent of the financing comes from the state, 15 percent from the growers and from parents' fees. Every Monday the parent pays $1.50 for each child who will be in the center during the week to come; there are no refunds. What the parent pays is supposed to cover the cost of food: mid-morning fruit juice, cod liver oil, and graham crackers; dinner of meat or a substitute, vegetable, bread and butter, milk, dessert; afternoon snack of sandwiches and milk. When the trucks are late bringing parents home there is a supper of cereal.

New York State sets up these units only upon the request of an employer with assurance that there will be at least twenty children in the center; or a number of growers may band together and provide transportation to a central location for children from several camps.

Floreen and Maureen, whining and listless five-month-old twins, weighed respectively five and six pounds the day their unmarried mother brought them to the center. Fifteen weeks later they sat up and crowed and clapped their hands and tipped the scales at seventeen and eighteen pounds. The mother wanted to know: "What rule do you-all use?" and marveled when the teacher showed her the special cereal, the orange juice, the strained vegetables, and explained the importance of regular feeding.

There was Evelyn of the furtive eyes and hostile air, who grabbed all twenty-four pairs of scissors from the craft shelf and fought with the teachers over giving up twenty-three of them; it took patient weeks to persuade her that even if the scissors were distributed around the class, there would still be a pair for her; that sharing might be a pleasure.

Joseph follows the crops with his grandmother. She brought him to the center three summers ago with a word of caution. "He just cain't he'p gettin' in trouble." At eight, very bright, a great tease, Joseph did introduce complications until the teachers discovered his genius for managing the younger children, keeping them enter-

At the child care center in a camp for migrant farm workers in New York, these youngsters who otherwise would run wild have a hot lunch, supervised recreation, and rest

Photos from Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches

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tained, and preventing squabbles. He anticipated their mischief because there was nothing he hadn't already thought of himself, and his powers of invention for dramatic play exceeded those of the trained personnel. During the third summer, whenever a day came that Joseph was absent, the teachers felt short-handed.

Nobody has counted the total pounds gained nor added up the skills acquired, the attitudes changed from fear and hostility to security and a spirit of sharing, the lift to worker morale when children are in safe hands.

But parents know that the difference is considerable, and so do many of the growers. In the King Ferry Camp, which houses up to 1,500 migrants, Roy Tuttle, executive of the Cayuga Producers Cooperative, has enlarged and re-decorated the child care center building. Earl Clarke points with pride to the center in his Poolville camp. And Howard Sisson of Sherburne finds that families who are interested in their children make the best work crews.

For describing the first few days in a center, bedlam is an understatement. At King Ferry, 100 children arrived on the opening day last summer, mostly infants and toddlers, filling the place to overflowing and all crying with bewilderment and fear. But warmth and understanding, quiet insistence on routine, and assurance of a daily welcome soon relaxed fears and tensions.

Two weeks later, visitors found four groups of happy children. The room designated for adult church and recreation on evenings and Sundays two-timed as a weekday nursery, windows painted a religious blue, billiard table pushed into one corner and the pulpit into another, and on the floor orderly rows of clothes baskets, each containing a sleeping baby.

In the second room, toddlers were learning to feed themselves, brush their teeth, take regular naps, share blocks and dolls. Preschoolers found it a novel experience to sit at a table and eat a hot lunch with spoon and fork; migrant families rarely have a place to sit down together for meals, few eat with table implements.

Trucks carrying migrants on long hauls are usually covered with tarpaulin. Given hammer and nails and an old crate, nine-year-old Charles constructed a truck like the one in which he rode north from Florida, then asked for a rag to put over the top and sides. "It's gotta be hot and stuffy inside," he explained.

A group of school-age girls helped prepare the afternoon snack for the toddlers. Preparation meant "shopping" in the pantry, spreading sandwiches, serving milk without spilling.

STAFF MEMBERS OF THE CENTER INCLUDE COLLEGE GIRLS from various campuses, among them Wellesley, Smith, Cornell, Keuka, Oberlin, Swarthmore, Fisk, Tuskegee, Hampton, Spelman. Occasionally a foreign student on exchange scholarship rounds out her American experience by a summer as a child care center aide, as did Lana Oreshkovoz of the University of Belgrade, a graduate student at Columbia University.

Year after year, the aides beg to come back. Six girls have served for five consecutive summers. Beverly Stapleton, who began helping in a center during the war when she was fourteen, is now a graduate of Albany State Teacher's College and last summer directed the center at Smyrna, New York.

Usually direction of a center takes more than student experience, and supervisors are drawn from the ranks of such educators as Arraga McNeill, high school English teacher of Wytheville, Virginia, and Mary Krewsome, Latin teacher of Cortland, New York.

Unlike Betty of the Kentucky mining family, about three quarters of New York's migrants are southern Negroes. For the staff, this often means not only working with children of different racial groups but mingling on a personal level with associates of another race.

Leaders begin orientation in a special two-week course at Cornell under the Department of Child Development and Family Relationships and then set up a demonstration center where the rest of the staff "learn by doing."

"Scratch one migrant problem and you find a dozen," declares Monica Owen, national field consultant of the Play Schools Association on loan to the state for the summer of 1950. "A migrant child care center is a sociological microcosm, a natural laboratory for the student interested in social and economic problems and child development."

Child care represents only one angle of the problems of the 20,000 transients New York brings in each year to keep its farm economy going. The state Interdepartmental Committee on Farm and Food Processing Labor attempts to provide health and welfare services for migrants; to raise the standards of housing and sanitation in migrant camps; to educate the grower to voluntary compliance with child labor regulations. Since some families stay north as late as November, communities are urged to welcome migrant children into local schools, making special provision for them when necessary. A spot check of schools across the state in October, 1949, showed 1,000 migrant children in attendance.

THE GROWER WHO BRINGS IN MIGRANT LABOR IS NOT always a popular figure in the community. He gets it three ways: from the resident who resents and fears the presence of the migrants; from the state official who is trying to enforce sanitation and child labor laws; and from the socially minded groups who periodically visit him to protest conditions in his camp. If he provides a child care center, he is helping to answer all three groups.

New York has not had stories of malnourished and starving children like those which shocked California and Arizona a year ago, but combined efforts to date have only touched the fringes of its migrant labor situation. Camps with child care centers are few and far between—only enough for some 16 percent of the children. Housing in a great many camps is substandard and health services inadequate or non-existant. The parent education program reaches only a small fraction of the total number of migrant mothers. There is frequent evasion of child labor regulations. Most deplorable of all is the tendency among growers to turn over their camps to labor contractors or crew leaders and so free themselves, at least legally, from responsibility for the welfare of their workers.

Nevertheless, this state has made a constructive approach to the problem, and its pattern of organization for a cooperative attack by growers, communities, and public bodies is well worth the attention of the other thirty-nine states whose farm economy depends on seasonal labor.

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"What Is Your Draft Status?"

The dilemma which confronts young Americans today, who are trained and ready to work, eager to "get started"—and subject to the draft.

RICHARD F. REDDIN

WANTED: FOR RESPONSIBLE ADMINISTRATIVE AND TECHNICAL POSITIONS WITH A FUTURE, THOUSANDS OF YOUNG MEN WITH SEVERE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL DISABILITIES. HEALTHY, WELL-ADJUSTED MEN NEED NOT APPLY.

THIS, WITH NO EXAGGERATION, IS THE GIST OF ALMOST all want ads today. Many jobs are available, and judging from the urgency of the ads, desperately in need of qualified men. But if you are a young man who is ambitious and healthy, they do not want you. You simply cannot get a decent job. The interviewers are not so frank as the ad above, but they ask one question which, in its variations, has become to the job seeking young man, almost the death of hope. The words are different, usually not so candid. But the actual question remains the same: "What is your draft status?"

This simple query ends most interviews and excludes the average young man from even such a relatively simple job as that of filing clerk or typist, forcing him into a dead end position with quick employe turnover and few training qualifications. Often, a soda-jerk's apron ends the elation of his graduation procession.

It may be months, even years, before he is called into the service. During this time he is unable to use his training to make a start on the career for which he has prepared. Yet this is a time when full utilization of the nation's manpower is an absolute necessity. There are several hundred thousand men enrolled in the various reserves. In addition, there are many thousands more who have an uncertain draft status, who might be called next month, but are just as likely to wait a year or more before going into uniform. Many of these men have studied for years, developing skills, either directly related to the defense effort, or essential to the economy.

It is easy to dismiss the problem by saying that there is no justification for giving jobs which require skill and a company training period to men who are likely to be called at any time. But this misses the point. Often it is months before they can be used in the armed forces. And what in the meantime? Can we afford to exclude them from jobs which so urgently require their abilities? The contribution made by those who are not called so quickly would more than balance the inconvenience of losing some of them after only a short time.

During World War II, little effort was made to solve this problem. Yet it was a problem which persisted, though usually it was recognized as such only by the individuals who were hurt because of it. Throughout the war, thousands of man-hours were needlessly wasted. In the present emergency, every talent and ability must be used, either in maintaining the general economy, or in rearming. It is dangerous for the country not to make use of these men, even though their current civilian usefulness may extend only over a period of months. We cannot afford to waste ability, even temporarily.

This useless and unnecessary waste of manpower in a time of crisis is actually only a part of the problem. After a man has spent years in training himself, he becomes extremely demoralized by the frustration of being barred from his normal field of work for reasons which have nothing to do with his preparation or capacity. As he scans want ads, trudges to agencies and personnel offices, he hears again and again the same answers. "Yes, your qualifications are excellent, your background exactly what we had in mind for this job. But we're sorry, can't even consider your application at this time."

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—By a recent graduate of Oberlin College, who is now a free-lance writer in New York.

I RECENTLY TALKED WITH A MAN WHO HAD SPENT THREE AND a half years in the merchant marine during the last war. After the war, he finished college, then went to a school of architecture. Recently he graduated and started looking for a beginning job. Because he had served in the merchant marine, he is subject to the draft. He told me that though he was high in his class, no architectural firm is willing to take a chance on hiring him since they might lose him in a short time. Yet his career already has been penalized by his three and a half years of war work. If he cannot get a job now, and gain some actual experience before he dons a uniform again, he will have to start all over when he returns once more to civilian life. And how can he make that new start—with no references at all, proving that at least he once was in an architect's firm, however brief the connection?

This man is typical of thousands who confront the same dilemma. In an employment situation which is both short-sighted and unpatriotic, he has to make an unhappy decision. One man's solution is to try to lie his way into a decent job. He can always say that he is draft-deferred—and sometimes he can get away with it. Another man puts on a porter's cap or chauffeur's gloves, automatically pidgeonholing his real contribution for an indefinite period.

This is particularly galling to the older men who would have no problem if they were not members of the Reserve. Yet they got into the reserve programs either through what now seems to them a misguided patriotism, or often, because they had ability enough to qualify as

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officers in the last war. Now, as ex-officers, they are automatically members of the Reserve.

I have a friend who was for three years an officer on an LST in the Pacific during the last war. After his discharge, he used his GI rights to finish college and go to law school. He graduated in June 1950, just as the Korean crisis developed. In September, after deciding that he would not be called back immediately, he tried to place himself with a law firm. The combination of his reserve status and the present crisis means that he is subject to call, yet the time is indefinite He cannot get a job with a law firm because they fear they will lose him just as he starts to "earn his salt." He told me that he has had dozens of interviews. All the lawyers he talked to were interested until they learned of his reserve status. At the present time, he is working in the mail room of an export corporation, discouraged about the prospect of ever practicing law. If he must put in more years in the Navy without even a beginning at his profession, he may, like thousands of other men, decide that it is not worth the struggle and turn to a quick pay, low skill job.

No business can be run with much emotion, even the patriotic variety. But these men, who may be called in a few months or years, are not putting aside their careers to fight for themselves alone. Among other things, these men, when they go into uniform, will be defending once more a political-economic scheme which allows private business to have a choice about whom it hires. Perhaps, "free enterprise" owes them a few concessions.

Whenever this problem is put to employers, particularly as they are sympathetically saying "no" at the end of the interview, they acknowledge the seriousness of the issue. But as one man told me, "After all, there is nothing we can do about it. It's too bad for the boys we must refuse. We wish we could help them. But we can't run a business that way. How can we afford to have a rapid turnover, afford to take a chance that the men we train may be called up just when they are becoming useful to the firm? We can only employ men who will be with us long enough to be worth something."

There seems to be logic here. But on second thought, is it not shortsighted? A guarantee that the employer would be able to keep these men for a longer time would make them more valuable. But viewed over a perspective of years, it is imperative that business, industry, and the professions use them now. Jobs now will help assure their eventual return to useful positions. It would be stupid indeed to plan a future economy manned only by the unfit. Yet that seems to be the most likely result of present policy.

Laws have been passed to prevent job discrimination on the basis of a man's race or creed, to require that only factors of ability be considered in hiring. Perhaps some agency is also needed to prevent discrimination on the basis of military status. Perhaps the question, "What is your draft status?" should be outlawed. Certainly the present and potential future waste of ability should be checked. The disadvantages of giving employment to qualified men regardless of draft status would be more than outweighed by the benefits of immediately increased manpower and the ending of this kind of discrimination against the healthy and well-adjusted.

The Old and The Young . . . *Ingeborg Kayko*

What do you say now, old man,
What can you say to us?
The rocket birds are in the air
and the rivers overrun with more
than dead water and black fish.

I say there will be bone from bone
and some day in a cave or cleft,
printed on a chalky stone
men will find your footprint left
not all of you time's theft.

But what of tomorrow, old man,
what shall I tell my son?
My father and mother had a house,
we are the locusts unleafing trees,
and city rats on the run.

Teach you son surviving,
tell your wife not to cry.
For centuries of living
bought inch by inch off the sky
there is no other way.

What is the having of centuries
if my now must fail?
The trumpet crying Thou Shalt Not Kill
lies in a coffin beflagged.
Shall I wait to be killed, or kill?

Killing or killed you will be lost,
yet if one man and woman live,
after caves and flint enough
they will reach the street where you leave off;
count yourself in the cost.

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A Water Policy for the USA

An over-all plan for the handling of the basic resources on which life itself depends—the pith of an epoch-making study and report to the nation.

P. ALSTON WARING

UNTIL THE RECENT PUBLICATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S Water Resources Policy report, the United States had never had in all its history a statement of national objectives in the whole field of water resources. Because of the vital importance of water to the whole economy and, in fact, to the very life of the people of this country, it can be stated without reservation that this step in the formulation of an over-all national policy is of great significance.

To be sure, in looking back over the past decades it is evident that there has been a steady evolution in building a body of law governing resource management, and a considerable achievement in the beneficial use of our water supply by federal, state, and private enterprise. One has but to see the more spectacular examples of resource management such as the great Hoover Dam, the Grand Coulee, and the magnificent river control systems of the TVA and the Central Valley of California Project to understand this. But on the whole, reclamation, flood control, and the conservation of renewable resources have been undertaken piecemeal and as need has arisen. There has never existed a uniform federal policy for the comprehensive development of water and land resources to guide projects wherever undertaken. The astoundingly good results have more than often suffered from duplication of effort, unnecessary wastefulness, and always the danger—inherent in any fragmentary approach to larger problems—of taking unwise and irremediable steps.

It is becoming clear, however, that we have arrived at a point of new departure in developing our resources of soil and water. Realizing this, the President, through his Water Resources Policy Commission's report, has offered to the American people and to the Congress recommendations to guide them in the development of a national water resources policy and its implementation in law.

The report is comprehensive in its analysis of all phases of the problem, and warrants the close study of every thinking citizen. It is the work of a commission of seven men and an able staff, under the chairmanship of Morris L. Cooke, outstanding engineer, who headed the water resources section of the National Resources Board. It is interesting to note that this Commission adopted at its first meeting the principle of arriving at decisions by taking "the sense of the meeting" rather than by vote, a method commonly used by the Society of Friends. It is declared that the Commission never took a vote, talking out everything in conference until a meeting of minds was achieved. There is no minority report. The Commission held hearings throughout the country, and drew upon the accumulated facts and knowledge compiled over the years by government agencies and private groups.

The first of three volumes, "A Water Policy for the American People," was published last December, and the two succeeding volumes, dealing with the details of several river basin studies and the applicable law, have now appeared. President Truman is expected soon to request legislation which will put the recommendations of the Commission into operation. In the meantime, the report is under public discussion and has attracted wide comment.

✦

Two articles discuss an urgent issue of modern American life—the wise handling of the basic resources of water and soil. The first presents the findings of a federal commission, under the chairmanship of Morris L. Cooke, which recently completed a two-year study and an outstanding report.

In the second (page 172), Benton MacKaye reviews the long history of increasing governmental responsibility and action in this field.

Mr. Waring is a farmer who is a practicing conservationist, author of two books on farm and rural poblems, "Roots in the Earth," and "Soil and Steel," and a book of Indian tales, "The Peacock Country."

WHY HAVE WE GOT AROUND FINALLY TO CONSIDERING AN over-all, coordinated policy? What national circumstances encouraged the President to ask for this survey and these recommendations at this time?

In the past, of course, dramatic events have precipitated the nation into needed and long overdue action. The dust storms of the Thirties brought about the establishment of a Soil Conservation Service and the undertaking of many conservation measures in the last two decades. Unquestionably, the water shortages which have plagued the huge population of Greater New York in the last two years, and similar situations in a dozen other large cities have raised a question in the public mind as to whether our water supply might be running out.

With the exhortation of public officials to curtail domestic use of water, the weekly "dry days," the experiments with artificial rain-making, the public has had its attention fixed on the problem of water, a matter which it usually takes for granted. Several other reasons lie behind such a report at this time. The Hoover Commission, under instructions of Congress, had made recommendations with regard to organization—it is a short and logical step to consideration of the policies that should control. Second, the army has discovered that in case

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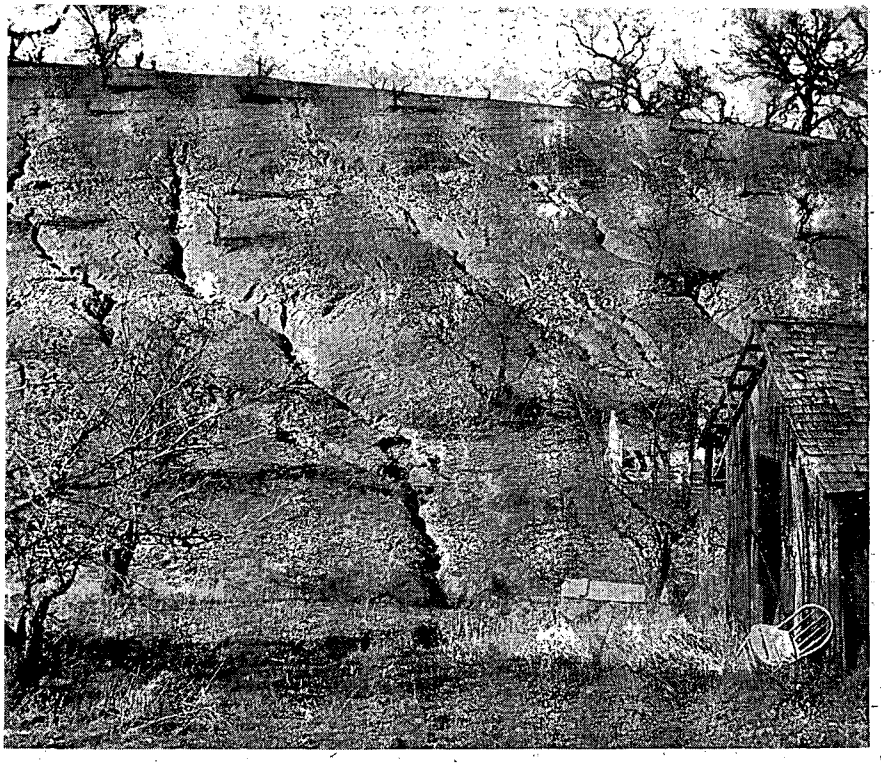

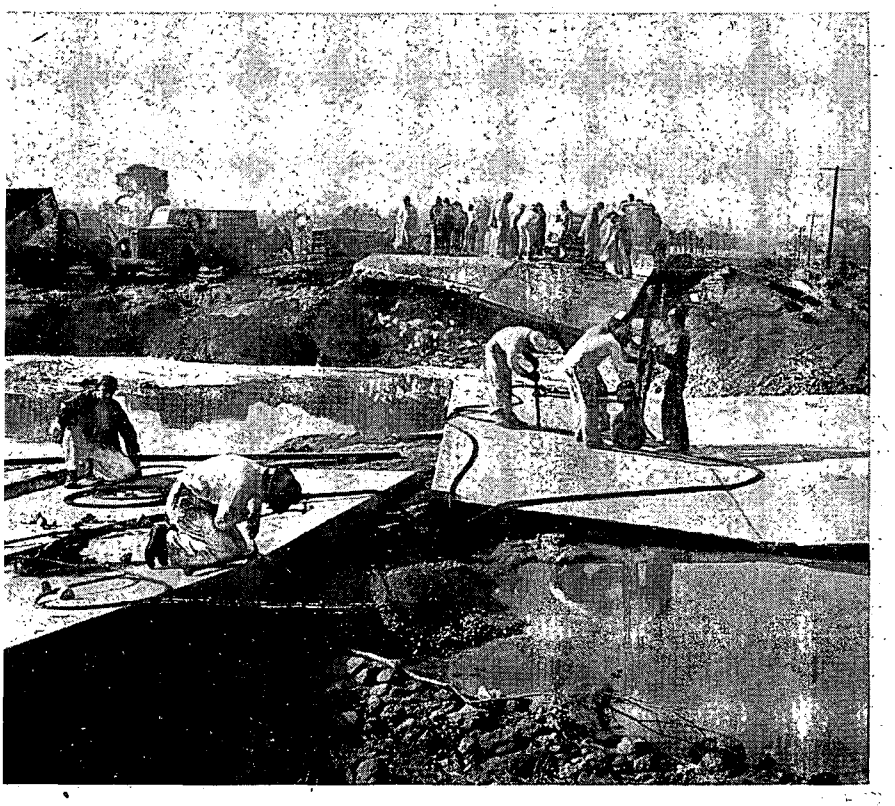

of a shooting war we might encounter the greatest di culty in finding the large quantities of water requir for the manufacture of synthetic fuels. Some pilot plar already set up, have shown that the manufacture these fuels from gas, shale, and coal would be a ma problem. A third reason probably was the fact that an increasing number of occasions the President h either to veto bills or sign them with a protest agai narrow or ill-conceived legislation with regard to wat In one or two of his veto messages he indicated that were working at cross purposes in the matter of poli just as the Hoover report made it clear we were wo ing at cross purposes in the matter of organization.

As against the short range, piecemeal approach whi has characterized policy-making in the past, the Pre dent's Commission now offers a long range and wid conceived program. This, perhaps, is its most importa contribution. But a long range development of wa resources is a vast undertaking, affecting all aspects American life. The broad assumption on which t report is based is that ours is an expanding economy. T population is growing. We have achieved and expect continue to enjoy a rising standard of living. Yet mer to maintain present standards, the report emphasizes, need to husband water resources. As a people, we ha an unenviable though perhaps understandable history wastefulness and exploitation of resources. But we c show, on the other hand, a substantial record of h bandry. The federal government itself has done muc The Reclamation Act, the creation of a Forestry Serv and Soil Conservation Service, and the vast and success growth of the Soil Conservation District movement indicate important steps in this field. The federal gove ment will spend 1.2 billion dollars in 1951 in water source management; it has authorizations amounting 12 billion dollars in the years ahead. "These expenditu will be made for the good of the nation as a whole; a nothing less than the whole country can be the unit c sidered in the formulation of federal policies."

But what we have done and are doing has not halt the deterioration of soil and water resources. Since wa is a part of a system of nature which includes the s plant, and animal life as well as human life, it can safeguarded and brought to full usefulness only if farm, range, and forest lands of the country are c served. Today, says the report, they are endanger "The damage is severe and, if allowed to continue, n become irreparable over wide areas." Moreover, ac shortages of water in certain areas are limiting indust

Left, top: It took only a few seasons for mismanaged water to destroy this hillside orchard and the fertile soil which once produced fine fruit.

Center: There is no water resources planning in the community where a flooded creek washed out this new highway.

Bottom: The board of supervisors of a Soil Conservation District in West Virginia study the drainage map of a four-county watershed.

Opposite: Crop rotations in contour strips conserve the topsoil and the rainfall on the fifteen farms of a Virginia watershed.

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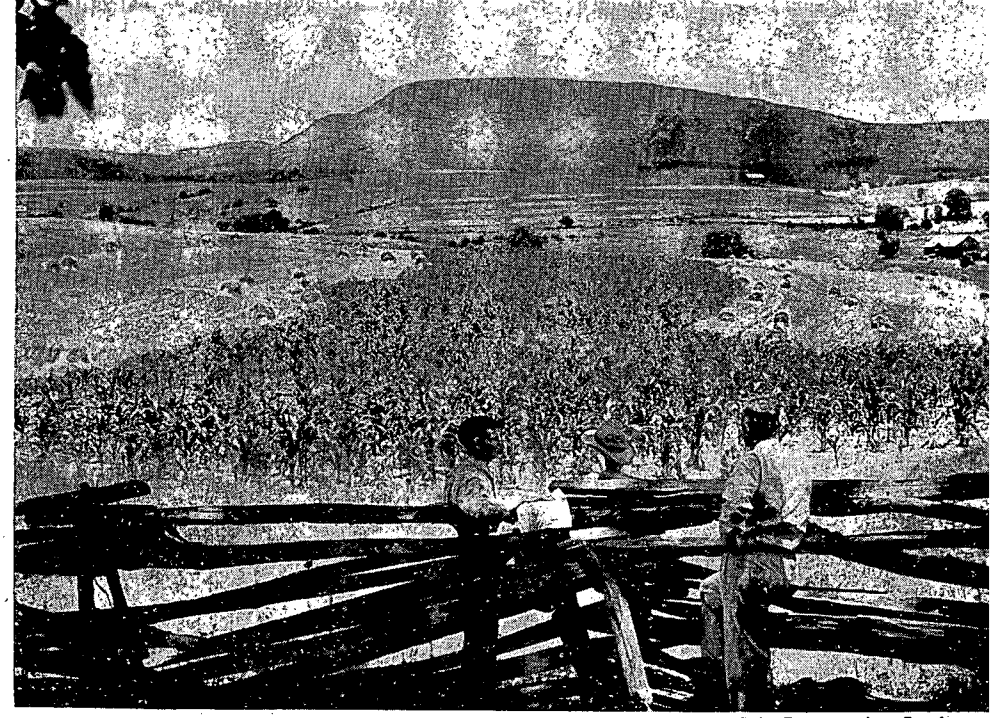
agricultural development, so that it becomes critical importance to adopt measures neces- to halt further depletion. "Our federal pro- ms have not brought the situation under con- . In fact, there are no current programs ade- te to meet our urgent national need for servation of these renewable resources. All gets fall short of that mark."

What, then, is the target at which we must ? The report is clear and specific as to this. ater resources development projects and asures should not be undertaken by the federal ernment as ends in themselves, but rather to ieve certain important national objectives or ls. . . . Where the national objectives or goals not consistently and clearly specified, in- dual projects are difficult to appraise, and flicts among purposes and uses of water be- ie inevitable." The objectives are set forth follows:



Photos from Soil Conservation Service

1. The safeguarding of our heritage of useful resources, and hus preventing the ultimate decline of productivity through ismanagement, by utilizing all phases of soil conservation, ood management, control of ground and surface waters, and ound forestry.

2. Providing through increasing production of land and ater resources a broader base for a steadily expanding na- onal economy by transforming water resources from ineffec- ve into beneficial agents, watering arid land, supplying nunicipal and industrial needs, improving channels for water ansportation, and hydroelectric power.

3. Providing opportunity for farms, urban homes, and com- nercial establishments and industries to make full use of ectric power through a marketing policy for federal power imed at encouraging maximum use at the lowest possible tes.

4. Coordinating soil and water undertakings with specific lans to meet national security.

5. Developing balanced regional economies, offering maxi- num opportunity for farming coupled with non-agricultural ral employment.

6. Providing for expanding cultural opportunities includ- ng all phases of recreational development from wilderness eas to wisely designed, artificial multiple-purpose reservoirs.

7. Protecting the public health, particularly through pollu- on abatement and control, and all necessary provision for abundance of municipal water supply.

can be seen from these broad objectives that the re- aims at far more uniform and comprehensive plan- g than we have ever had in the past. Our federal laws ot so conceived, and state laws are equally ill-adapted is over-all approach to the problem of resource man- ment. State and local participation has been confused therefore less effective than it should be.

order to insure uniform planning the Commission ubmitted a series of recommendations on which Con- s may base future policy and implement it in law. is the heart of the report. Though there is con- ed in it full discussion of all phases of the problem, as the problem of surface and ground water, the blem of watershed management and hydroelectric er, land reclamation, and flood and pollution con- the following series of recommendations concerning -all planning stand out as the basis for citizen king and congressional action. To summarize:

River basins are the natural subdivisions of our water resources, and watersheds are the natural units of these river basins. In carrying forward the constructive thinking of the past century and a half the Commission is convinced that the next step is "the application of unified responsibility to the planning of multiple-purpose basin-wide development."

To this end, the Commission is convinced that:

First, Congress should provide that the unit for planning further water resources development should be the river basin and that a basin program should be prepared in relation to broad regional needs and assets.

Second, a single appropriation should be made for each survey and planning operation. At each step in the planning, authorization, and appropriation process the basin program should be treated as a single program for all purposes rather than as an aggregate of plans for separate purposes.

Third, Congress should direct all federal departments and agencies responsible for development of land and water resources to review promptly as coordinated groups all existing plans and programs in cooperation with interested states. Plans already authorized by Congress should remain undisturbed unless this review results in specific recommendations for change.

Fourth, Congress should authorize the creation of organizations to coordinate and prepare multiple-purpose plans for several river basins.

Finally, Congress should authorize the creation of a board of review to analyze all projects and programs recommended by the basin commissions prior to their presentation to Congress.

An idea of the range of the report may be indicated by considering briefly some of its major sections.

The Need for Basic Information. One is impressed in this report by the vast amount of information relating to renewable resources which has been accumulated over the years by all the agencies, public and private, which have been working on the various aspects of resource management and use. The report itself has come out of long accumulated knowledge and experience. But the President's Commission makes clear that there is a con-

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tinuing need for basic information, and recommends that an essential part of any national program be the collection and analysis of new facts. For instance, it sets up suggested ten-year period programs for securing adequate hydrologic and sedimentation information. It proposes that we complete in twenty years adequate topographic and geological mapping of the United States; that land surveys be continued and extended; and—very important indeed—that social and economic data be accumulated to meet the requirements of river basin planning.

Surface and Ground Water. Fresh water is our primary self-renewing resource. The total quantity in constant circulation in the USA measured in precipitation, amounts to about 4,300 billion gallons daily. Since 3,000 billion gallons a day return to the atmosphere through evaporation and transpiration, we have left 1,300 billion gallons a day for ground water infiltration and surface run-off. Storage in the ground and in surface reservoirs is essential, and each one of us has a responsibility here. How we treat our fields, our woodlots, our roadsides, our forests, will determine how much of the available water supply gets into storage.

Basic information as to the past and present use and future requirements of water generally, the Commission finds "woefully inadequate" and "shockingly vague." Ground water use is estimated to have increased. In fact, it approximately doubled between 1935 and 1945. Present use of 25 billion represents only one fifth to one eighth of the country's total requirements.

To be sure, the Commission feels that the over-all water situation reveals an adequate available supply for the nation's needs. But at the same time, "it is urgently up to us to learn quickly and reliably how much water we are using and what our future needs are likely to be. In doing this we must constantly consider the availability and the cost of both surface water and ground water, and the relation between them in each area and basin." The cooperation of the states and local communities is, of course, paramount in order to coordinate the development of the water resources of the nation.

Watershed Management. As we have moved forward in our management of water over the years we have been prone to fix our attention on the large and obvious problems, such as the control of floods or the irrigation of arid areas. Big dams have been built, levees constructed, attention paid chiefly to the management of big rivers. The President's Commission was quick to observe the danger in this approach, and to insist on a wiser scheme.

Some critics of the report see in it an advocacy of government paternalism and the disregarding of local control and participation in water resource management. This is to overlook what the Commission said about "the community watershed." The report clearly shows a deep understanding both from the technical standpoint of tackling the problem at its source—where the raindrop falls on the little upland watershed—and from the social standpoint of involving in the conservation process the people who live on the land and in the communities which make up our nation.

In a way, this emphasis breaks with the mores and established institutional practices of the present. To scientists and to many older societies this watershed approach is not a new idea. But in terms of present planning in this country it is revolutionary.

In the words of the report, "Conservationists have urged that small rather than large watersheds be considered in watershed management. They believe that first, important work must be done in the headwaters of streams in order to make the construction of reservoirs downstream as effective as possible in water resource management. Secondly, they hold that a small watershed can be a cultural unit, as a large one cannot.

"Experience has shown that one of the most decisive factors in the success or failure of watershed development work in humid areas is the cooperation of the people living in a watershed. Normally, the active, informed participation of the residents is essential to successful management. They own the property, control the institutions, originate the traditions, create the cultural atmosphere, determine the goals, and execute the practices of management. They pay directly for some or all of the improvements required. Unless they understand the need for watershed development, and regard themselves as a functioning part of the watershed, little of lasting value is likely to be accomplished.

"The practical-sized watershed is one on which the residents are willing to spend time, money, and energy because they regard it as their own. It is an area which they associate their pasts, and particularly their personal futures.

"The community watershed will thus constitute the focus of local participation in development programs. It will be an area in which people will gain a first-hand understanding of the results, as well as the costs, of a development program."

The insistence on the small or community watershed as the unit on which to build basin development indicates clearly that plans for water resources management must not stop with the main stem of great rivers. They should take into consideration soil and forest conservation. They should insist that agricultural programs do not conflict with the progress of soil conservation. They should accomplish the coordination of all government agencies working with farmers, such as the Extension Service, the Soil Conservation Service, the Forestry Service, and Reclamation.

Domestic and Industrial Water Supply. In the light of the water shortage which the population of New York City has experienced in recent years, the question of a continuing and ample supply for domestic and industrial use is of first importance. Since all cities and communities depend on water which has its origin in rainfall and run-off on land wholly or in part from outside their boundaries, the multiple-purpose, river basin, watershed approach to water management advocated in this water policy report is clearly appropriate.

The Commission's studies indicate that over-all supply is certainly adequate. The problem is a matter of planning on a vast new scale. To be sure, per capita use has greatly increased, largely because of industrial use, air conditioning, and generally higher standards of living. But of the total run-off, domestic use accounts for only one percent. Nevertheless, cities must practice forethought and plan for their expanding populations, which mean increased water consumption. These plans must take into consideration the needs of the watershed where

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the water supply originates.

Where industry is concentrated and where there is the practice of tapping ground water supplies, it is vital that there be specific studies of resources, required recharging, and control of drilling. The over-use of ground water has already developed in some parts of the East, for example, in certain sections of Ohio, and in the arid West, notably in the Eloy and the Salt River areas of Arizona.

Connected with this matter of domestic and industrial water is the problem of stream pollution, which is a growing menace in our industrial society. We have now the Water Pollution Control Act of 1948, which recognizes the primary responsibility of the states, but assures federal aid. The Commission recommends that this law be given every chance to clean up streams and rivers. If it does not do so in a reasonable time a new effort must be made. Certainly a multi-purpose river basin policy for water should help solve this very serious problem.

Hydroelectric Power. This is one of the most disputed areas in the whole field of water resources management. During the last twenty years the federal government has embarked upon an accelerated program of river development. Connected with this has been the establishment at many dams of hydroelectric power installations producing large quantities of electric power.

The question arises whether the federal government has acquired a utility responsibility, especially in such regions as the Pacific Northwest. The whole question of public *versus* private power is likewise involved, and there is much opposition by private corporations to the entrance of government into the power field.

The development of multi-purpose river basin programs in the future inevitably will involve the government still further in this controversy, and the report points to the need for clearly defined congressional policy. It reviews and analyzes the situation at some length and offers recommendations. It also reviews the whole history of federal power policy, and shows that there has been consistent congressional action for more than a generation. The principles written into the Federal Power Act of 1920 (which set up the Federal Power Commission) and the TVA Act, govern all other federal water power enactments. Their four major principles are summed up by the report thus:

1. Hydroelectric power should be developed as part of the comprehensive development of rivers for all beneficial purposes.
2. Public plans for the development of water power resources should be accorded a preference, this preference going first to federal projects and then to those of states and municipalities.
3. Non-federal development of water power should be permitted under licenses for limited periods subject to provisions protecting the public interest in low-cost electricity and to possible recapture by the federal government at reasonable cost at the end of the licensing period.
4. The federal government should continue to exercise its responsibility for taking the leading part in development of river basins in their entirety.

The report makes this significant comment:

"These principles are neither public ownership nor private ownership principles, but are typical of the mixed system of public and private operation which has characterized the power industry of America for more than a generation. It is the system which has given force to regulation of private power corporations under public franchises by enabling citizens of cities, counties, and other governmental units to choose at any time that organization of power supply which they believe will give them the greatest assurance of low-cost power for residential, agricultural, and developmental purposes. In a sense it offers the possibility of actual or potential competition to stimulate what would otherwise be public sanctioned monopolies in an essential business which is of vital importance to every community and region."

Here is the essence of the position of the government on hydroelectric power. Rivers are the property of the people; the people have an interest in their use for low-cost power; to sanction monopoly use of these public properties is against the public interest. To control them, and to work out a mixed system of public and private operation is the aim of policy. Moreover, the supply of low-cost power is one of the important means for achieving the broad regional and national objectives of comprehensive water resources programs.

The Federal Power Commission estimates that by 1970 the nation will require a total installed central station power capacity of 160 million kilowatts to supply total energy requirements of 725 billion kilowatt-hours a year. This means a very large increase in the next twenty years, and to insure the country's ability to meet this demand will call for the joint effort of both public and private power enterprise. It is no either-or question. Regional power resources should be viewed as a whole, regardless of ownership. It should be possible in every region to secure for all the benefits of carefully integrated power development.

Conservation Education. It is, of course, true that in a democracy progress is made only as the people become informed and enlightened. We can have a wise policy toward our resources and their use only if the people understand the need. The President's Commission is well aware of this. The report emphasizes education as the only basis for wise legislation. In the chapter dealing with this matter, the report makes clear that a national water resources policy should seek nothing short of a gradual revolution in outlook. There are long established patterns of thought and action in America. From our beginning we have been a wasteful people, prodigal of our rich inheritance. If we are to build a society with rising standards of living we must understand the nature of the renewable resources on which all physical life depends. This is a matter not only for the schools. It is a challenge to us all; and the report not only underscores the need for education, but it is specific in its recommendations. As a people we must assume full responsibility for the proper use of the resources on which our society is built, and there must grow within us a common determination to use them rightly.

We have a unique opportunity to set our course for the future in this matter of resource use. In a sense we have come to the threshold of maturity. "A Water Policy for the American People" is a chart of special value. It calls for wide public discussion, that Congress may act soon and with decision.

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V. Washington—and the Watershed

BENTON MACKAYE

We have scanned what I called the first chapter of the genesis of geotechnics in America. Now for another and all but contemporary chapter. If Jefferson was the "Adam" of the first then Washington was forerunner of the second, for unwittingly he too was a geotechnist of sorts. The setting in his case was not a folkland but an inland waterway.

Before Washington was President of the USA he was president of the C & O—a company organized to put through a Chesapeake and Ohio canal, planned to connect the Ohio and Potomac Rivers with an extension to Chesapeake Bay. Through this project the father of his country was sire to its fortunes in altogether new ways.

As noted in my last installment, the United States of America started to become "Disunited States" right after the Revolution. One physically disunited section had become the home of settlers who had followed the trail which Daniel Boone had blazed across the Alleghenies in 1776. In less than a decade substantial populations occupied the upper waters of the Ohio and the Tennessee Rivers. Their outlet to market lay down the Mississippi as the Allegheny Range made a stout wall between them and the main body of seaboard citizens. These western groups began to feel being neglected. Folks on the Tennessee actually started an independent state and called it "Franklin." All this looked bad to Jefferson—no less so to Washington, of whom John Fiske wrote in his "Critical Period of American History, 1783-89":

> From an early age he had indulged in prophetic dreams of the grandeur of the coming civilization in America, and had looked to the country beyond the mountains as the field in which the next generation was to find room for expansion. . . . In his early journeys in the wilderness he had given especial attention to the possibilities of water connection between the East and the West. . . . The subject was a favorite one with him, and he looked at it from both a commercial and a political point of view. . . . The East and West, he said, must be cemented together by interests in common; otherwise they will break asunder. Without commercial intercourse they will cease to understand each other, and will thus be ripe for disagreement.

Disagreements indeed! North *versus* South, East *versus* West. How to unite these regions? This was Washington's inveterate quest after Yorktown. He put it into words—including his famous "legacy" to the American people. His counsel as statesman was fortified by his bent as a civil engineer and his efforts as an unconscious "geotechnist." For his C & O plan to unite the East and West by fresh water—at right angles to the sea lanes, north and south along the coast—led early to the inception of a code of Union generally, and later to a *code of man* in harmony with the eternal *code of nature.*

BULL SESSION ON THE POTOMAC: 1785

In 1785, as president of his canal company, George Washington invited to his Mount Vernon home a few key people to talk things over—what we might dub a "bull session." This included James Madison, later President, and two state officials; one from Virginia, one from Maryland. They soon found they had bitten off a subject involving the whole question of commerce between the new states. Clearly this called for further discussion and wider representation.

Hence a second gathering the next year (1786) at Annapolis. All the new states were invited to send representatives. The purpose was to discuss commercial relations, not only along the Potomac, but generally. Alexander Hamilton stretched "commercial relations" to political relations and proposed another conference. That was held in Philadelphia. Those we now call the "founding fathers" met and spent the hot summer of 1787 in framing the Constitution of the United States.

Thus, step by step, from that little meeting of friends at Mount Vernon the "code of man" had its inception. But this is not all that emanated from it. There is another story and a much longer one, concerning critical portions of the Constitution's structure. It is the story of adapting man's sovereignty to nature's, of man's begrudging cooperation with river flow to make American watersheds more habitable. This story comprises the second "chapter" of our genesis of geotechnics in the United States—*on the role of American waters.*

Washington's C & O project was our first watershed enterprise in the first big scale use of American rivers: their use for navigation and transport. From the dawn of history the river had been the great highway for landlocked commerce. As such, on the new continent, it paid no heed to state lines if men chose to draw them in or across its natural lines of flow. That was man's headache—not river's. Washington recognized this when he asked officials from both Virginia and Maryland to attend his Mount Vernon meeting in 1785. The Potomac had been made a colonial and then a state boundary, thus requiring two sovereignties to deal with one river.

THE SERIES TO DATE

I. **Growth of a New Science (October, 1950)**
II. **From Homesteads to Valley Authorities (November)**
III. **Genesis and Jefferson (December)**
IV. **Folkland As Nation Maker (January, 1951)**
V. **Washington—and the Watershed**

TO COME

VI. **From Continent to Globe**
VII. **Toward A "Supreme Law"**

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The framers of the United States Constitution cut this knot. They placed all interstate commerce, including river traffic, within one sovereignty (the federal) instead of among thirteen. Thus man's law was changed to conform to river's law *via* the crucial "commerce clause":

"The Congress shall have Power . . . to regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes." (Art. 1, Sec. 8, Clause 3).

HIGH DECISION ON THE HUDSON: 1824

BUT IN TIME THAT CLAUSE WAS CHALLENGED. HERE'S what happened. Back in 1798—when the federal government was cutting its first teeth—this commerce clause, along with the whole Constitution, was still a trembling experiment on paper. That year the sturdy New York legislature passed a sovereign act granting (for forty years) to Robert R. Livingston and the inventor, Robert Fulton, the right to "the exclusive navigation of all waters within the jurisdiction of the state . . . [by] boats moved by fire or steam." This grant in due time was assigned to another Livingston (John R.) who passed on to Aaron Ogden "the right to navigate the waters between Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and the City of New York."

Meanwhile, Thomas Gibbons was busily plying his own boats, in competition with Ogden, in these selfsame waters between the two states. Objecting to this competition, Ogden filed a bill in the New York State Court of Chancery, complaining of Gibbons and asking for an injunction to prevent his activities. Gibbons filed an answer, stating that his boats were operated under a license originating in the U. S. government by act of Congress of February 18, 1793. But Ogden got his injunction—and Gibbons appealed.

When the case finally reached the Supreme Court of the United States, the point at issue hung on the definition of the word—*"navigation."* Was it *"commerce"?* If so, Gibbons and the U. S. would be sustained (and the Hudson River along with them). If not, then Ogden, New York, and state rights would be the winners. Any school dictionary would seem to be the only document necessary to decide this early showdown between state and federal authority. Nonetheless, the case, as recorded in 9 Wheat, 1, 6 L ed. 23 (U. S. 1824), ran to 100 pages.

Here was a definite call for "hands up"—a challenge to jurisprudence and economics (and to geotechnics). Would the feeble federal government dare to call the bluff of swaggering New York? The case was argued by an able federalist, Daniel Webster; the Chief Justice was John Marshall, early champion of the Constitution. It was not hard to show that navigation was commerce; everybody knew it. But these men were wary. Well must they have known that the whole fabric of union was being tested and that there was dynamite in any definition. So they were long in defining. Finally they came forth decisively with the obvious.

Marshall chimed in with Webster's claims as to the use of the word "commerce" in the Constitution.

> Henceforth (Webster had argued) the commerce of the United States was to be a *unit;* and the system by which it was to exist and be governed must necessarily be complete, entire, and uniform. Its character was to be described in the flag which waved over it, *E pluribus unum.*

The gist of Chief Justice Marshall's opinion:

> All America understands, and has uniformly understood, the word "commerce" to comprehend navigation. . . . The power over commerce, including navigation, was one of the primary objects for which the people of America adopted their government. . . . The convention must have used the word in that sense, because all have understood it in that sense; and the attempt to restrict it comes too late.
>
> The word used in the Constitution, then, comprehends . . . navigation within its meaning; and a power to regulate navigation is as expressly granted, as if that term had been added to the word "commerce."

Long afterward, Albert J. Beveridge, historian and senator, commented in his "Life of John Marshall":

> On March 2, 1824, Marshall delivered that opinion (Gibbons *vs.* Ogden) which has done more to knit the American people into an indivisible Nation than any other one force in our history, excepting only war. . . . (He) welded that people into a unit by the force of their mutual interests.

OL' MAN RIVER AS UNCLE SAM

SO GIBBONS WON. THE HUDSON WON—AND THE AMERican people. It was a triumph for sane jurisprudence and practical economics, and it was something more. It was a triumph for geotechnics.

The bottom winner of course—using the Mississippi's nickname, was Ol' Man River, dressed up as Uncle Sam. The laws of men bowed to "the laws of nature and of nature's God." A realm of man (a state) yielded to a realm of nature (a river). What was once sought for on the Potomac was realized on the Hudson. The "get together" at Mount Vernon had contemplated a single power over river commerce between two states (Virginia and Maryland). This power, as we have seen, was set forth in principle in the U. S. Constitution and its commerce clause. The power was now achieved in fact and law in the case carried to the Supreme Court over river commerce between two other states (New York and New Jersey). Americans deliberately revised their previous state line system to conform to the river's bland incomprehension of it; for state sovereignty they accepted river sovereignty, adapting themselves and their ideas to their environment.

But we have had more steps to take. Besides navigation, American rivers came to be put to other big scale uses—to irrigate land, to turn the wheels of industry, to light whole cities. These uses demand storage works whereby to hold the floods and ease their waters gently to the ditches and the turbines. So great dams and reservoirs have been built to catch the flow of water. They also catch the flow of silt. This raised another problem.

That silt must come from somewhere gradually penetrated the ivory-plated cranium of *homo "sapiens."* Why yes—from upstream and from the tributaries. After all, water flows downhill. But along with it flows good crop-producing soil to the tune of several hundred acres a day! I recall a ditty taught in the little red school house:

> Little drops of water, little grains of sand
> Make the mighty ocean and the pleasant land.

Brought up to date:

> Little drops of water take little grains of sand
> To the mighty ocean: result—unpleasant land.

There is no need, as we have seen, that this be so; most of the "little grains of sand" (and loam) can, with proper attention, be held at their upland sources. A previous installment of mine dealt with the U. S. Soil

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Conservation Service (SCS) and its demonstration farms which exhibit how this vast waste may be curbed by such means as contour plowing. Ax and hoof as well as plow can also be controlled. I told also of Engineer Kenneth W. Ross and his concept of "bigger and better floods"; meaning by that diversion of silt to low lands instead of sea, thereby spreading fertility along a river's course instead of havoc. Indeed, we are only beginning to learn what can be done in allaying this bleeding sickness of the land.

For a great river is more than a river, it's a matrix of rivers like a leaf ending in a stem, or a bowl with a thousand sources draining to one mouth. Looked at this way, a river is part of a whole which consists of *water-oozing land*—its full name, river basin or *watershed*.

With water, as we have seen, flows silt and sand and soil of all varieties. Therefore a watershed is also a soil-shed. This fact makes land use and water use all one thing. It makes upstream and downstream, tributary and stem—all one thing. It makes all parts of the shed, be they forest, range, or meadow—all one thing. The laws of nature which govern all these parts make up one law—which is older than any other sovereignty. It antedates the Silurian age; it is older than life upon the land; it is as old as water itself; it is *watershed sovereignty*.

THE RIO GRANDE DECISION: 1899

Recall, if you will, what was brought out earlier in this series about the crude layout of state boundaries, and hence of the states themselves, throughout our early American folkland. The distinction was drawn between natural boundaries and imaginary lines, between the crest-line (or divide between watersheds) and a parallel of latitude. Sometimes a state line followed a divide, but too often it followed a parallel or a meridian, or else ran through the middle of a river or diametrically across its flow. Then two or more man-made sovereignties were bound to overlap one nature-made sovereignty. By vesting over-all responsibility in the federal government, the U. S. Constitution sought to correct this confusion.

But the Hudson River case in 1824 applied only to the main stem of the stream. The navigation jam of Gibbons *versus* Ogden occurred at its *mouth*. How about its *sources?* Did federal sovereignty include its tributaries as well as its stem. No case came up to test tributary river sovereignty in the Hudson Valley.

That was fought out three fourths of a century later, in 1899—and on the Rio Grande. The story begins with an act of Congress of September 19, 1890, which provided:

> That the creation of any obstruction, not affirmatively authorized by law, to the navigable capacity of any waters, in respect to which the United States has jurisdiction, is hereby prohibited.

Without authorization, a Rio Grande Dam and Irrigation Company made plans to dam an upper section of the river in New Mexico, and use the water for irrigation. On May 24, 1897, the United States moved in as keeper of river sovereignty. The Attorney General started proceedings to prevent the company from building the dam and appropriating the water. After various refusals to this demand in the lower courts, the case came before the Supreme Court of the United States, where Mr. Justice Brewer delivered the opinion:

> It is obvious that Congress (by the 1890 provision above cited) meant that thereafter no state should interfere with the navigability of a stream without the condition of a national assent. . . . It is not a prohibition of any obstruction to the navigation, but any obstruction to the navigable capacity; and anything, wherever done or however done, within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States, which tends to destroy the navigable capacity of one of the navigable waters of the United States, is within the terms of the prohibition. . . .

"Navigability," not navigation!—that was now the point. The issue over *navigation* had been disposed of on the Hudson, back in 1824. Here on the Rio Grande was settled the question of *navigable capacity*. Moreover, tributaries were clearly and definitely brought into the picture of a flowing river. *Tributary sovereignty*, added to main stem sovereignty, enlarged the legal sphere of the river—and the watershed. Again Ol' Man River won.

WATERSHED LEGISLATION

Twelve years after the Rio Grande case, Congress passed the Weeks Act (1911). Agitation for it had started around 1900. One purpose in mind was to save threatened wilderness areas in the "crowded East," and conserve a better balance between primeval and urban settings (Social habitability is the geotechnic phrase). This idea was turned down by "Uncle Joe" Cannon, czar of the House of Representatives. He didn't "believe in buying scenery." The main object was forest production and the need of a continuous timber supply (Economic habitability); but lawyers advised that neither crusty old Speaker Cannon nor the Constitution would allow government purchase on this score. Hence, those who favored the Act placed their reliance on navigation needs, which involved the control of headwater tributary streams; in short, watershed protection (Physical habitability). This course panned out in the pioneer legislation of 1911. The Weeks Act provided that if studies showed that forest cover influenced stream flow (and hence navigability) then Uncle Sam, regardless of Uncle Joe, could buy the necessary cover (with the scenery thrown in).

I had a little hand in this process myself. The next year (1912) I was lent by the Forest Service to the U. S. Geological Survey to appraise the forest cover on the watersheds of the White Mountains in New Hampshire. This range (*via* the Weeks Law) became a National Forest along with others throughout the Appalachians. Thereby, the National Forest System expanded from west to east; thereby Congress recognized upstream watershed sovereignty.

I recall a little fun on that White Mountains survey. My boss was Raphael Zon, America's greatest technical forester. Coming to inspect, his time limited, he asked me for a bird's-eye-view. I took him to a point near Mt. Carrigain. He looked, noted, and without speaking, pondered the ecological panorama. Closing his notebook with a snap, he turned around:

"Mac, you've brought me to just the right strategical spot. I've got my dope. Now let's get out of here. Can I catch my train *tonight?*"

I snatched out my watch. "It's now twelve-thirty," I reported. "We have just five hours of daylight. It's fifteen miles to the end of the woods. Come, we can just make it!" We legged it back down the trail. Zon gulped and followed after, almost on a run. "Hi, not so fast, Mac!" "Yes, but we must." . . . Down the ridge we went and along the stream below. "Can we make it, Mac?" "Walk, don't talk." . . . We legged it through the

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Notch together and headed for Twin Mountain. "Can we make it?" "Shut up and *walk*." . . . Then 5:30, just light enough to grope our way. But we were out of the woods and on the big highway. Raphael Zon was panting but he'd been game—and he caught his train.

With the Weeks law enacted, the watershed was to come into its own. True, Congress considered, but did not enact, a wider application of watershed sovereignty. But in 1913 and after, Senator Francis G. Newlands of Nevada held the floor for his River Regulation bill. He divided the USA into its truly "basic states" (my name, not his), composed of the river basins. For each he set up his famous coordination of river-concerned agencies dealing with forest, soil, power, and stream flow.

During these years—the century's teens—contention waxed warm on the issue of public *versus* private control of water power. Part of the wealth in flowing water lies in its latent energies. As Uncle Sam now controlled the water, he controlled its contents—whether "little grains of sand" or kilowatts. So he claimed and so Congress passed the Federal Water Power Act of 1920. The hero (or culprit) in this long waterpower fight was Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska. He kept at it, and won. Along with Weeks and Newlands, he lived to introduce, struggle for, and see signed in 1933 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt the most complete act to date invoking watershed sovereignty. As Pinchot was to the first Roosevelt and Norris to the second Roosevelt, so George H. Maxwell was to Senator Newlands, and Judson King to Senator Norris. Except for these men, Maxwell and King, we still might be waiting for the vision of the watershed to come to earth in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

THE NEW RIVER DECISION: 1940

THERE WERE PEOPLE WHO STILL HELD "THERE AIN'T NO such animal!" and again they went to law. For, after all, after the Weeks law, after the Federal Water Power Act and, now, after the TVA, the courts had only in part recognized watershed sovereignty. The case of Gibbons *vs.* Ogden in 1824 had recognized public control of the main stream; the Rio Grande case in 1899, of the tributaries—but only as to "structures." Big dams were of course allowable, but how about this forest cover stuff (Weeks law)? . . . How about these iniquitous public waterpower rights (Federal Water Power Act)? . . . About all that rubbish as to watershed management in general (TVA)?

The answer came on December 16, 1940, when the Supreme Court gave its decision in the New River Case, U. S. *vs.* Appalachian Electric Power Co., 311, U. S. 377:

> The power of the United States over its waters . . . arises from the commerce clause of the Constitution. . . . The federal government has domination over the water power inherent in a flowing stream. . . . In our view, it cannot properly be said that the constitutional power of the United States over its waters is limited to control for navigation . . . . Flood protection, *watershed development*, recovery of the cost of improvements through utilization of power, are likewise parts of commerce control. . . . That authority is as broad as the needs of commerce. (Italics mine.)

Management of river flowage by the federal government, not only to float boats downstream and place structures upstream but to manage "flood protection," manage "the water power inherent in a flowing stream" and project "watershed development"—thus, in America, our "supreme law of the land" was made part of the supreme law of flowing water. Thus Congress was freed to make the most of it.

John W. Scott, lawyer and former member of the Federal Power Commission, commented on the decision in the *George Washington Law Review* for April 1941:

> This pronouncement of the court will serve as a constitutional beacon light in the field of conservation. Congress has heretofore recognized, and now the Supreme Court places its *imprimatur* upon the fundamental concept that the water resources of America—the totality of things inherent in and related to proper watershed development, long illusory—belong to, and may be realized and possessed by the people of America.

One year after this comprehensive decision came a strong "postscript" clinching watershed sovereignty. In the Denison Dam case, U. S. *vs.* Oklahoma, 313 U. S. 408 (1941), the U. S. Supreme Court held:

> We have recently recognized that "flood protection, watershed development, recovery of the cost of improvements through the utilization of power are likewise parts of commerce control." And now we add: . . .
>
> Flood control extends to the tributaries. . . . For just as control over the non-navigable parts of the river may be essential or desirable in the interests of the navigable portions, so may the key to flood control on a navigable stream be found in whole or in part in flood control on its tributaries.
>
> To say that no one of these projects could be constitutionally authorized because its separate effect on floods in the Mississippi would be too conjectural would be to deny the actual or potential aggregate benefits of the integrated system as a whole.

In this opinion two definite rivets drive home what earlier decisions had implied: (1) "Tributaries" are spelled out; (2) The "integrated system" of the "whole" is placed above the "separate effect" on any part.

FROM C & O—TO TVA

SO MUCH FOR MY STORY OF AMERICAN WATERS WHICH traces the evolution of river utilization in the effort to enhance the continent's habitability. We have observed this development, step by step, and river by river.

First, on the Potomac (1785). Washington's small meeting at Mount Vernon to consider his C & O canal project leads to a session at Annapolis, which leads to a session at Philadelphia, which framed a Federal Constitutional Convention which contained the key commerce clause.

On the Hudson (1824): The commerce clause is challenged; it wins; commerce is held to include "navigation"; federal river sovereignty is recognized.

On the Rio Grande (1899): Commerce held to embrace "navigability"; tributary sovereignty recognized.

On the New River (1940): Commerce includes "flood protection" and "watershed development."

In each test, stronger and stronger waxes Ol' Man River (clothed as Uncle Sam). At each step, closer and closer the evolving law of man adapts itself to the eternal law of nature. Meanwhile—*On the Tennessee River (1933),* watershed sovereignty had come into its first full scale demonstration.

A blind child, holding a stem, fingers along the veins until he grasps the broad mat that makes the whole leaf. Even so have Americans come to envision the river—first the main stem, next the tributaries, and finally the whole watershed. From C & O, with its vision of the part—to TVA, with its comprehension of the whole.

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THE COMMON WELFARE

Services for British Children

ALFRED H. HAYNES

"FREEDOM FROM WANT CANNOT BE forced upon a democracy, or given to a democracy. It must be won by them." These words of Sir William Beveridge, the author of the British social security plan, indicate the approach of the British people to the social revolution now taking place.

The ordinary people, for whose benefit the new services mainly are designed, are fully conscious that they cannot have something for nothing, and their experience during the past two years has proved to them that social security is well worth the sacrifices and shortages required to maintain it.

For 350 years, starting with the Elizabethan Poor Law, the British people have been using their ingenuity to evolve differing forms of legislation to meet social needs. Now that finally there has developed the concept of a "welfare state," it can be declared that "never has so much been done for so many." That is not to say, however, that legislation has achieved the impossible by providing a pigeonhole for every need—the complex nature of life in Britain today, accentuated by an acute housing shortage, has thrown into relief a number of social problems that never existed in prewar years. It is by the medium of such voluntary services as the National Old People's Welfare Committee, the British Red Cross, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and so on, that the people themselves are doing so much to fill the gaps left by the statutory services.

It is a matter for regret that the new British Social Services are not based on a central register, and perhaps the greatest weakness in the new organization lies in the division of responsibility between so many agencies. Certain of the social services, including hospitals, national insurance, national assistance, war and disability pensions are directly administered by government departments working through a network of regional and local offices. But a number of equally important services are administered by the local communities through their elected representatives.

The majority of the services connected with child welfare are the responsibility of the last-named authorities, and it is in the field of child care that the first steps are being taken to integrate the efforts of the different agencies more closely. An increasing emphasis is being laid upon the recognition that the new health and welfare services have a common aim —the care of the child as an individual —and it is upon this cardinal principle that, so far as they are able, the social services are framing a unified policy.

THE PHRASE "FROM THE CRADLE TO THE grave," coined to describe the scope of Britain's new social services, is accurate only in part, for it does not take into account the care of the child *before* it is born. Prior to July 5, 1948, the only persons entitled to free medical attention in their homes were those covered by the National Health Insurance Acts, and certain classes of persons receiving Poor Law relief. Under the new regime, every member of the community, including, of course, expectant mothers, is entitled to the benefits of the State Medical Service, which includes home, hospital, specialist, clinical, pharmaceutical, ophthalmic, aural, and dental facilities.

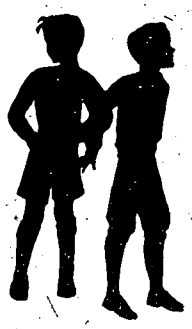
The domiciliary medical service operates through the general medical practitioners, 95 percent of whom have volunteered their services, and who see that the necessary antenatal care is available through the registered midwives, the approved obstetricians, or the hospital maternity clinics, as the patient prefers.

The mother-to-be may also attend the local antenatal clinic, where, in addition to having routine check-ups, she may take advantage of the educational and social work of the health visitors. Vitamin A and D tablets or cod-liver oil compound are supplied free of charge, orange juice at subsidized prices, and extra rations of milk, eggs, and meat through the Ministry of Food.

Whether or not the birth occurs in the maternity unit of a hospital largely depends upon whether complications are expected, and whether the patient's home is suitable for a confinement. If the woman is to be confined at home, she can either book a midwife to attend her or obtain the services of an obstetric practitioner.

Of the 8,000 midwives employed by the local health authorities, 75 percent have completed their training in the administration of anaesthesia.

If the expectant mother has been in employment under the National Insurance Acts, she will receive a maternity allowance of £1.16 a week (about $5) for thirteen weeks, otherwise, an attendance allowance of £1 ($2.80) a week for four weeks. There is a further maternity grant of £4 ($11) on the birth of the child.



The attendance allowance is designed to give some financial aid toward domestic help during the lying-in. Some mothers prefer to make their own arrangements, but the vast majority in the middle and lower income groups take advantage of the Home Help Schemes. Over 20,000 women are now employed in these schemes either full time or part time. The service is designed to provide domestic help in time of sickness or other special need.

Thus social services in Britain begin to operate long before the cradle stage.

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With the advent of the child, a number of other services become interested. Mother and child are visited promptly by the Health Visitor, trained as nurse and social worker. She plays an important part in the health education of the community, including advice to young mothers.

At the postnatal clinic and the Child Welfare Center, the health of both mother and child is the concern of the medical officer in charge. At these centers, there are facilities for free immunization against diphtheria, and free vaccination against smallpox. The local health authorities also have the legal power to provide for immunization and vaccination against other diseases.

All the arrangements at the clinics and Child Welfare Centers are closely linked with the hospital and specialist services and, by this means, physical and psychological defects are dealt with early in life. The health visitors' advice is constantly sought on personal problems, ranging from queries on the grant of family allowances (which are at the rate of 5 shillings—70 cents—for every child after the first) and the issues of subsidized and free foods to the more complicated problems of family disputes.

THE DAY NURSERIES AND NURSERY schools provided by the authorities are, unfortunately, still too few in number to meet the demands of working mothers. The vast majority of British children do not commence their school life until they are five years of age. Like many of the other social services, education is hampered not merely by lack of trained staff and shortage of buildings, but by the pressing need for strict economy. It will be many years before full effect can be given to recent school legislation. In some parts of the country, teachers have to cope with forty to fifty children in overcrowded classrooms, while in other sections, a limit has to be set on the intake of school age children.

Unless the parents prefer to pay the fees of a private school, every boy and girl first attends a public primary school. The question of further education is decided at the age of ten to eleven years. On the basis of aptitude, ability, and school record, the child proceeds to a public county grammar school, secondary modern school, or county technical school. The county grammar school provides an academic training designed to fit its pupils for professional careers; the secondary modern school, experimenting with freer atmosphere, lays its emphasis on training in citizenship. The county technical school, as its name implies, specializes in technical subjects and its pupils are those showing an aptitude for engineering or for skilled trades. Under present circumstances the child will remain at school until at least fifteen years of age. For those attending county grammar schools, further opportunities are available at the colleges and universities, admission to which can be secured either by state scholarship or by education authority grants.

During his school career, the child will be under the supervision of the school medical service, with careful attention to his physical, mental, and emotional development. The social services that revolve around the schools include provision of school meals, free milk, transportation to and from school, attention to clothing and footwear. For the handicapped, including the mentally retarded, there are special institutions.

It has long been recognized that any educational system must fail in its final objective of producing well-balanced adult lives if, on leaving school and college, young people are left to fend for themselves. To assist them in choosing and beginning their careers school-leavers have the help of the vocational guidance officer, to whom a complete school record is available.

A brief article like this cannot begin to touch on every aspect of child-life in Britain today but it would be incomplete without some reference to the comprehensive services now provided by the local authorities for children who do not enjoy the benefits of normal home lives. That such children are entitled to all the opportunities—educational and vocational—available to their more fortunate fellows, has now been recognized as their absolute legal right.

Included among such children are those who are without parents or guardians; abandoned children; children whose parents or guardians are suffering from mental or physical disabilities, and either temporarily or permanently cannot provide a proper upbringing. In such cases, the local authorities receive the children into their care for so long as may be deemed necessary. Most of these children are accommodated in reception units, residential nurseries, grouped and scattered children's homes, and so on, but there is increasing stress on the desirability of adoption or of boarding homes.

There are weaknesses in the new services—for instance, the methods of dealing with homeless families—and a vast number of unsolved problems. These are times of trial and error, and mistakes are inevitable. Over all looms the ax of national economy.

It must be realized that these notes cover only a fractional part of the British social services for children. Nothing has been said, for example, about the voluntary societies, the juvenile courts, the war orphans, and so on. The writer is aware, too, of the fear in many quarters that the state, through its social services, is destroying personal initiative and family responsibility. But it must be born in mind that Britain is a democracy, and that the object in framing the new social order is directed, not toward the provision of artificial substitutes, but to see that, within the national family circle, the privileges of its citizens should go hand in hand with the responsibilities that each owes one to the other.

Mr. Haynes is the secretary of the Dover Group of Social Workers in Dover, England.

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APWA Withdraws from Welfare Assembly

EARLY IN FEBRUARY, THE BOARD OF THE American Public Welfare Association voted to withdraw from the National Social Welfare Assembly. The parting was the result of a long brewing dissatisfaction among many APWA members over what they considered the minor role accorded public welfare in Assembly deliberations and activities. It also had roots in a questioning on the part of some public welfare people of whether an organization charged with finding ways of improving the discharge of legally established responsibilities could let another organization speak for it when such concerns were vitally involved. Doubts which had in the first place nearly defeated APWA affiliation when it came to a board vote in 1947 were strengthened last fall when but one public welfare official was named to the Committee on National Emergency Services, jointly sponsored by the Assembly and the Community Chests and Councils of America, to consider all the welfare aspects of mobilization and civil defense.

Assembly spokesmen, however, say that the Committee was set up essentially as a national committee of lay people whose interests were expected to encompass all of social welfare. APWA,

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on the other hand, points out that among the lay citizens on the Committee were none whose primary interest or experience was in public welfare.

The break came after the APWA, in its negotiations with the Federal Civilian Defense Administration on the part public welfare departments could be expected to take in emergencies, ran into conflicting recommendations from the Committee on National Emergency Services, whose secretary, Robert E. Bondy, is also executive director of the Assembly.

Indications now are that in practice the differences in the two points of view over emergency welfare organization, which had to do with the role of the public welfare department, might not be insurmountable. However, differences in viewpoint over the part public welfare has or can play in Assembly activities remain.

Actually, the National Social Welfare Assembly, which was established in 1945 to provide a means through which national and local, public and private social work could develop deeper understanding and coordinate their efforts, is not authorized and does not claim to speak for social work, or even for its members. Frequently, however, it sets up a committee to consider questions of welfare policy and publishes a report with a list of endorsing organizations, such as its "Service to Migrants."

As with the Committee on National Emergency Services, set up as the result of a conference called by the Assembly, several committees have been established jointly with other organizations, particularly the Community Chests and Councils of America. They act as independent bodies and speak only for themselves, but when their staff duplicates that of the Assembly, the distinction is not always apparent, according to APWA representatives. This has been regarded as putting difficulties in the way of APWA's acceptance of Assembly affiliation.

The real bone of contention, from the APWA point of view, is representation, for APWA spokesmen feel that government, which carries at least three fourths of the social service responsibilities in this country is but poorly represented in Assembly policy-making bodies and membership. A protest to this effect three years ago, resulted in the public welfare representation in the Assembly executive committee being stepped up from one to three out of 36 in 1949 and 4 in 1951. However, in the same period public welfare's proportionate representation among the members at large decreased. In 1951, as in 1949, there were 12 persons in public welfare positions among the members at large, but the group as a whole had been increased from 70 to 88.

Those who believe that public welfare has been slighted also point to the fact that state and local welfare departments, responsible for so many welfare services today, are nowhere represented in the Assembly as such. Assembly spokesmen, however, say that except for its members at large the organization has been set up as a council of national organizations and has no state and local agency affiliation. Government currently participates in the Assembly through the affiliation of a number of federal agencies, in addition to the members at large from federal, state, and local public departments.

In withdrawing from membership on February 3, the APWA board adopted a resolution concluding with the recommendation that "the Association continue its policy of cooperation and consultation with the National Social Welfare Assembly when there are specific questions of public-voluntary relations in the field of welfare which require joint discussion."

Social Work Year Book 1951

THE ONE INDISPENSABLE REFERENCE book in all social work offices is the "Social Work Year Book," published biennially from 1930-1949 by the Russell Sage Foundation, and this year for the first time by the American Association of Social Workers. (Price $5.) The 1951 edition, under the editorship of Margaret B. Hodges, lives up to the quality of its predecessors as a social work encyclopedia *par excellence,* providing, as it does, a wealth of information on 73 topics concerned with social work and related fields. Though a superficial comparison with the 1949 edition, with its 77 topics, might indicate that the 1951 volume is less "exhaustive," closer scrutiny shows that some reorganization in presentation accounts for most of the missing topics. For example, "Old Age and Survivors Insurance" and "Unemployment Insurance," are brought together under "The Social Insurances," an exceedingly informative exposition of the provisions of the Social Security Act as amended last fall.

A few former subjects have unaccountably been lost altogether—"Consumer Protection" to name one — but something obviously had to give to make way for new subjects demanded by the current trend as, for example, "Social Work and the National Emergency," which describes social work's involvements and plans as of last November in regard to the nation's civilian defense and mobilization program. Incidentally, in this particular instance, events are moving so fast that the article is already somewhat outdated. "Family Life Education" and "Youthful Offenders" are other new topics that reflect current concentrations of interest.

"International Social Work" is one of various articles which illustrates why this important encyclopedia must be renewed at frequent intervals. It shows how the passage of even a short period of time can reverse a trend or change the entire emphasis of a phase of social effort—in this instance from relief and reconstruction to technical assistance and long range planning. But whether or not the American Association of Social Workers will continue to publish the Social Work Year Book at the traditional two-year intervals depends on the sales of the present volume. Though granted a $15,000 starting fund by the Russell Sage Foundation when the publication passed into its hands, the AASW has not the resources to meet a recurrent deficit if the $51,000 project does not pay for itself—as it never has in the past. However if biennial publication becomes impossible the AASW will assure continuance of the project in some other manner—either by publishing the "Year Book" at longer intervals or by making arrangements for some other organization to carry on.

Salaries and Social Workers

WITH A 10 PERCENT BOOST SUGGESTED as a minimum, the American Association of Social Workers is currently urging widespread increases in social work pay to bridge "the steadily widening gap between social work salaries and the rising cost of living." The policy is based on a statement adopted by the national board of the professional organization at its February meeting. In this the board asserted that if the quality of social services is to be maintained and new demands incidental to mobilization are to be met, "it is imperative that the unfavorable relations of salaries in social work to salaries in other occupations be altered as soon as possible."

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The board referred to findings of the recent study of salaries in social work by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. These showed that as of last spring over half the social workers in the country were making less than $2,960 per year. In the period since May 1950, according to the ASSW board, no appreciable rise in the level of social workers' incomes has occurred although living costs have risen more than 7 percent.

Social Agencies and Community Chests

AN ATTEMPT TO FACE FACTS, IN THIS instance the tensions growing out of the complex relationships in the modern organization of social services, has resulted in a pamphlet, "Toward Improved Chest-Council Agency Relations," just released by the Association Press, price 75 cents. Prepared by Ray Johns, general secretary of the Boston YMCA, it is a report of a committee set up jointly by the Community Chests and Councils of America, Inc., and the National Social Welfare Assembly, to review "the causes and manifestations of disagreement" among community chests and councils of social agencies, their member agencies, and the national organizations with which these local agencies are affiliated."

Tracing the development of present social work organization to give a clear picture of how the three-way relationship came to exist and the points where conflict arises, it finds four main trouble spots: conflicting organizational demands; inadequate financing; lack of criteria for establishing priorities in programing; an incomplete concept of public relations.

Among the organizational weaknesses producing tensions the report cites: inadequate clarification of the division of authority between agency and chest-council boards; lack of chest-council understanding of the relationship between agencies and their national organization; lack of agency understanding of chest-council policies and procedures; failure of some national agencies to reckon with local needs; unclear policies in regard to channels of communication between chest-councils and national organizations.

Stressing the point that a chest-agency relationship is a "partnership of equals," the report suggests that tensions arising from the necessary chest-council review of an agency's budget cannot be met by "dictatorial methods" nor by a too stringent restriction of agency freedom through a strict "line by line" procedure. On the other hand, it urges agencies to operate within their agreed-upon budgets, refrain from making future commitments without consultation, and "weigh the effects in the community of their involvement in issues in which there are sharp differences of opinion."

The report mentions four main problems related to financial difficulties: inability on the part of many agencies to provide for adequate salaries and wages, needed maintenance and repairs, higher operating costs, increased demands for services, and sufficient reserves for replacements; unsatisfactory budget review processes; pressure from some agencies for supplemental fund-raising campaigns; and the "confused situation of financing national services." Among several suggestions for increasing funds, the report advises: greater participation by agency board and staff in chest campaigns; increased agency self-support through membership and fees; and "review by chests of their policies toward givers so that the chest will give leadership for adequate financing of a sound community social welfare program rather than primarily providing 'protection' for givers."

Among difficulties in achieving a "balance of community services" the report lists: lack of criteria for measuring different types of need; "frozen community patterns" which resist adjustment; programs and standards imposed on local agencies either by national organizations or by chests and councils; tendencies to discourage or resist experimentation and change; "inordinately long" tolerance of substandard practices and services. To break these knots the report suggests that local and national organizations and planning bodies join in developing criteria for judging need and service performance. It also urges chests and councils to interpret and develop support for unmet needs and to encourage imagination and initiative on the part of member agencies without letting them "run riot."

The report points to a number of stumbling blocks to developing good public understanding: a kind of reciprocal mistrust between chests and member agencies in some communities; practical difficulties in preserving the identity of individual agencies in telling the story of the total community program; conflicts between local chests and national organizations in interpreting agency programs. It notes that sound public relations must begin with good "internal" human relations and effective services.

SAM A. LEWISOHN
1884—1951

WHEN Sam A. Lewisohn died suddenly during a California vacation last month, New York State and City lost a distinguished citizen, and *The Survey* a friend of many years standing. A leading industrialist and financier, Mr. Lewisohn carried on his father's tradition of philanthropic giving and support of the arts. He also made lasting contribution to the welfare and industrial fields.

It was Mr. Lewisohn who in 1930 as chairman of a special committee presented a report to the then Governor Franklin Roosevelt which marked the beginning of a new prison policy, defined by the Lewisohn Commission as "the replacement of mass treatment and routine organization by a system of constant personal study, individual treatment and training of every prisoner." For sixteen years, Mr. Lewisohn was president of the American Prison Association.

An early advocate of unemployment insurance, he was named by President Roosevelt in 1934 to aid the Committee on Economic Security in developing a federal program of social insurance.

In his own far flung business interests, and in the American Management Association, which he headed for many years, Mr. Lewisohn worked for better industrial relations. His book, "Human Leadership in Industry: The Challenge of Tomorrow," published in 1945, he called "a challenge, a warning, and a guide to executive leaders to assume the full responsibility which is theirs for improved human relations in industry."

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PERSONALITIES and PROJECTS

social welfare in terms of significant people

Prison Cells and Academic Halls

WHEN AUSTIN H. MACCORMICK, director of the Osborne Association, joins the permanent faculty of the University of California at Berkeley next summer he will be at least one educator at whom nobody can fling the accusation "ivory tower theorist." For this prospective professor of corrections in the new School of Criminology can draw for his lectures on more than thirty years of first hand experience with prison conditions and problems — as surveyor, administrator, consultant, and even inmate.

Few educators could or would boast of a prison incarceration as a qualifying experience, but Mr. MacCormick lists two. Both were voluntary efforts to find out what prison life is really like by living incognito as an inmate.

Austin H. MacCormick

Mr. MacCormick's first acquaintance with prison cells occurred a month after he graduated from Bowdoin College. He had no thought then of eventually becoming a penologist, let alone one whose work would bring him two of the highest awards the United States government bestows on civilians. By getting himself admitted to the state prison he was merely trying to help a Bowdoin friend, the present Senator Paul Douglas, obtain material for a graduate sociological study. He himself was looking forward to an academic career on the faculty of a small liberal arts college, with English as his specialty.

One man changed his direction. This was the late Thomas Mott Osborne, warden of Sing Sing Prison—innovator of many penological reforms, in whose memory the organization Mr. MacCormick now heads was later established.

Student MacCormick had read and been impressed by Mr. Osborne's works, and by his voluntary sentence at Auburn Prison as Tom Brown. After his own prison experiment he learned that the great penologist was in turn impressed by what he had done. By then a graduate student at Columbia University in New York, he had an opportunity to begin a close association with Mr. Osborne that continued till the latter's death in 1926.

His second "prison term" came in 1917 when he and the famous warden served voluntary sentences together at Portsmouth Naval Prison as investigators for Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels. A few months later Mr. Osborne became commanding officer of the prison with Ensign MacCormick as his chief assistant.

After the war, Mr. MacCormick returned to his *alma mater* where he remained the next seven years as alumni secretary, managing also to find time to carry out a number of prison surveys. In 1927, he broke away from the campus to undertake a nationwide prison survey for the National Society for Penal Information, predecessor of the Osborne Association. But two years later he was again tinkering around with college administration—this time fund raising for the newly formed Bennington College—when he was asked to serve under Sanford Bates as assistant director of the U. S. Bureau of Prisons. Under the Bates-MacCormick team the mediocre federal prison and parole system underwent a vigorous reorganization which resulted in its present progressive policies and high standards. During part of this period Mr. MacCormick served as acting superintendent at the Federal Reformatory at Chillicothe, Ohio, then suffering from administrative maladies, which he speedily cured.

Drastic reorganization was again in order on Mr. MacCormick's next job, begun in 1934, this time as commissioner of correction for New York City. There, with the late Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia's blessing, he undertook a dramatic clean-up of unspeakable conditions at the Welfare Island penitentiary. This was but the beginning of the many reforms he instituted in a scandal-ridden department and, when he left the city system six years later for the Osborne Association, the *New York World-Telegram* called him "one of the great prison executives of the United States."

With the Osborne Association Mr. MacCormick has continued to spearhead reform by investigating conditions and recommending improvements in jails, prisons, and children's correctional institutions around the country.

Among his most recent achievements have been surveys of the prison systems in Texas, Alabama, and North Carolina, all of which have resulted in definite action toward improvement of very bad conditions. During World War II, he served as expert consultant on correctional problems to the Secretary of War, and bore a large share of the responsibility for organizing the rehabilitation system which restored 42,000 army prisoners to service. Later he served as vice-chairman of the War Department's clemency board, which reviewed 35,000 sentences in a year and a half, reducing 85 percent of them. It was for these services that he received the War Department's Exceptional Civilian Service Award in 1945, and the Presidential Medal for Merit in 1947.

Mr. MacCormick plans to continue as executive director of the Osborne Association "at least for a while," but after going to California will delegate much of the operative responsibility to an executive secretary, as yet to be appointed. He also intends to keep in touch with two other major "extracurricular interests"—work *against* alcoholism and *for* mental hygiene. He is one of the eight "non-alcoholic" trustees of Alcoholics Anonymous, a former president

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of the National Committee on Alcoholism, and a member of the National Association for Mental Health.

With a characteristic frankness, he says he is looking forward to the California move not only because he is "crazy about Berkeley" but also because he feels a deep responsibility to interest young people, "the future administrators," in the principles of humane and effective correctional programs and practices.

✦ ✦ ✦

"IT IS A DIFFICULT AND YET RARE OPPORTUNITY to follow one of the genuinely distinguished figures in social welfare."

Thus ROBERT M. MACRAE, new director of the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, recently expressed his mixed sentiments at stepping into the shoes of WILFRED S. REYNOLDS, the Council's director for twenty-nine years, who retired last January.

Mr. MacRae, whose own record indicates that he himself is no slouch at community organization is, in fact, following one of the real pioneers in this field. The much-beloved Wilfred Reynolds has for more than forty years bent vigor and imagination to the task of spreading and coordinating the innumerable public and voluntary efforts to improve conditions and services for the welfare of people in the teeming midwest metropolis.

One of the founders of the Council, Mr. Reynolds served as its president for four years before becoming executive director, and led in its development from a social planning organization of 25 health and welfare agencies to one with 250 agencies in its membership. Never losing sight of human beings in preoccupation with agencies, he has always maintained that "the goal of welfare effort is to maintain a level of living for all people in the community that insures their total requirements." Thus, it was no digression when he took a four-year leave from the Council in the heart of the great depression to head the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, directing a program that provided assistance to about 240,000 destitute families. And it was also logical that he later took a leading part in the establishment of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare to replace the old county agent system with a program of sound social services.

The son of Quaker farmers, Mr. Reynolds began his adult career as a teacher but turned to social work after experience on the staff of a school for delinquent boys. His interest in coordinating social services dates as far back as 1912 when he was superintendent of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society and he and other Chicago welfare leaders used to get together monthly to discuss their common problems. Now at 70, with an undisputed wealth of social work know-how developed through the necessity of doing and the constant awareness that "aid to distressed people must preserve the personality strengths of each person," he is firmly convinced of the importance of formal training for social workers. "But," he adds when discussing the subject, "the use of the processes learned must be enriched by unseen but sensed spiritual attributes" if permanent improvement is to be achieved.

Wilfred S. Reynolds — Robert M. MacRae

So far, Mr. Reynolds has announced no definite agenda of retirement activities other than "a change of scene" and a determination to keep his "mental and physical machinery in motion lest it atrophy." For the moment he is taking a breather and reveling in the enjoyment of having "no serious deadlines to meet."

In the meantime, his successor at the Council is also experiencing a change of scene, if one fraught with the more urgent necessity of learning everything there is to know about the great sprawling community that is Chicago. Michigan bred and Michigan trained, Mr. MacRae comes from twenty-two years of experience in community organization in Detroit. His past attention about equally divided between community planning and federated fund raising culminated in the dual job of managing director of the community chest and executive vice-president of the council of social agencies of that metropolitan area. He, too, had once looked to a different career, but was still an undergraduate at the University of Michigan when he decided he was unsuited to the ministry, though he still felt "a call to service." A friendship with William J. Norton, then executive secretary of the Detroit Community Fund, jelled an interest in social work and resulted in graduate study at the University, a certificate in social work, and a first job at the Fund.

Mr. MacRae says he has witnessed four significant tendencies in community organization during the past dozen years. These are: a growing participation of organized labor in voluntary social work, both in the fund raising and program building aspects; an extension of the community chest idea to the state level in a number of states (Michigan being one); a resurgence of the principle of federated giving; and an introduction of national budgeting machinery. That he has not only witnessed, but also been influential in the development of these trends is indicated by the number of national, state, and local planning committees on which he has been an active participant, to name only a few: the advisory committee on labor participation of the Community Chests and Councils of America, the advisory committee of the United Health and Welfare Fund of Michigan; the National Budget Committee of the Community Chests and Councils and the National Social Welfare Assembly.

In respect to Chicago, the new Welfare Council director identifies three major problems: the need of more adequate financing of voluntary social work; a shortage in child care facilities; difficult relationships between the parent city and suburban communities. A strong believer in "the concept of federation as a partnership between contributors and member agencies," he feels that in any expansion of federation the partnership principle must be preserved.

Mr. MacRae regards the council method as of first importance, for "while slow" it offers "one of the finest expressions of democracy at work." When agency representatives and citizens at large come together to work out what they can do for the people of their town, he says, "they keep alive and vigorous the spirit of voluntarism which has done so much to make this country strong."

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"They Speak to the Conscience"

GEORGE BRITT

MEN OF GOOD HOPE, A Story of American Progressives, by Daniel Aaron. Oxford University Press. $4

A SOCIALIST'S FAITH, by Norman Thomas. Norton. $4

THE ASSORTED CHARACTERS PRESENTED in the two volumes here fittingly read together, the one book emphasizing and illuminating the other, were patriots who "hoped and expected to achieve what we should call their utopian goal by appealing to the good sense and justice of their fellow Americans."

What is wrong with that? Nothing wrong, except the hopeless lack of that spirit of excess and violence by which demagogues win power. "It is our business, especially in America," writes Norman Thomas, "to develop and improve our imperfect democracy; not to seek salvation through crisis." By this and other statements, he would be set down in the same class with, say, Henry Demarest Lloyd, "probably the finest product of the middle-class conscience in our history," demonstrating "how a middle position—gradualist, pragmatic, tolerant—can be vital and deeply radical at the same time." These books, then, are not success stories; they cry to us rather as voices in the wilderness.

The story begins with an America still dazzled by the Declaration of Independence and an inexhaustible continent to be enjoyed. Pretty soon, amid the eloquence of self-satisfaction could be heard notes of dismay as greed and sordid materialism took over. The first effective challenge came from Ralph Waldo Emerson. He is shown here as a protean and paradoxical figure; nevertheless, the progressives stem directly from his doctrine that whatever form society might take, the proper concern of government is the care and culture of man.

Then came Theodore Parker, the disciple of Emerson, unorthodox preacher and omniscient commentator. He was a scourge against slavery and the compromises of Daniel Webster, but he also denounced right in Boston "the Ahabs and Herods of State Street." "Industrial democracy" was his concept, grubbers after "the almighty dollar" his special target. He pushed his attack even into the fashionable churches, "in general, as much commercial as the shops." The church of his day, he said brashly, "is the hospital of fools, the resort of rooks and owls. The one thing it does well is the baptizing of babies." And to democracy he presented the great slogan: "Direct government over all the people, for all the people, by all the people."

FROM PARKER THE STORY CARRIES ON through Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Lloyd, William Dean Howells, and Thorstein Veblen. Then the course is explicitly altered to deal with Theodore Roosevelt and Brooks Adams—"pseudo-progressives," the author calls them—with a brief wind-up on New Dealers and Fair Dealers. Neither this author nor Mr. Thomas, in my opinion, gives due credit to Franklin D. Roosevelt, according to the net magnitude of his progressive accomplishments, although conceding merit to him.

Mr. Aaron is a professor (Smith, Bennington) and did his research for "Men of Good Hope" on a Guggenheim Fellowship—surely a plus for the Foundation. The present grouping with Mr. Thomas was done without consultation and doubtless each author could question the association—especially on the test of Mr. Aaron's findings that all his heroes particularly shunned ensnarement by institutions and mostly by political parties. Any such grouping must be somewhat arbitrary, even that in "Men of Good Hope" itself.

Virtually, all these names were used, at one time or another, to frighten the children. Parker was called "the notorious Christian infidel." George was despised by Karl Marx, hated by the anarchists, as well as fought by the standpatters. They were all disturbers of that peace which lies in smug minds, which made them in Mr. Aaron's phrase "a complacent nation's most precious possession." By the same token, Mr. Thomas recalls that only last summer a commencement address he was to deliver was canceled by local agitation following the current pattern that there was no practical difference between a Socialist and a Communist.

Lloyd, the New Yorker resettled in Chicago, takes shape here as one of the most magnetic as well as eloquent in a group of semi-forgotten men. He had dash and charm, poise and courage, together with the gift of phrase. The Standard Oil Company, he noted, "has done everything to the Pennsylvania Legislature except to refine it." Of the casket-makers monopoly, "their action to keep up prices and to keep down the numbers of coffins was secret, lest mortality should be discouraged." While still hopeful of the Populist Party, he remarked in a Washington's Birthday address, "A country in which the people have at the election only the right to be crucified between two thieves—who are

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not crucified—is not the Republic of Washington."

Yet Lloyd could not agree to making "a class movement of an agitation to abolish class." At one point he was about to join the Socialists and sought to enlist them for municipal ownership of local transit in Chicago. Here, he thought, democracy might "strike a hard blow against monopoly, remedy the working conditions of the employes, improve and cheapen the transit service, remove corrupt officials, and encourage the movement for public ownership of other utilities." He was rebuffed because the agitation would save the workingmen only a few cents, he was "thinking like a professional reformer instead of like a wage earner."

All these early progressives come to life and make a present appeal by their own words and actions. They can be heard over the long decades, because, as the author claimed for them in Emerson's phrase, "They speak to the conscience, and have that superiority over the crowd of their contemporaries, which belongs to men of good hope."

THE CAREER OF NORMAN THOMAS, THE justification in fact of the faith here confessed, is noted in a rather full single page of type on the back of the book jacket. Within is presented this faith in as abstract and impersonal terms, seemingly, as a firm intention could enforce. Many—Mr. Thomas's opponents no doubt, but more important, his friends and admirers—will regret this. At the end, however, to 300 pages gone before, he adds a dozen pages of "A Personal Footnote," so warm and appealing and revealing as to make every reader grieve the personal loss that it was no longer.

The book is a re-examination of the Thomas kind of socialism, "in terms of what may be if we try," what it has shaped into after three and a half decades of not being afraid, of sticking out the neck and carrying the banner. Here is a detailed reappraisal of a social and political philosophy—socialism impressed with humanism, holding all Marxism at arm's length and combatting Soviet Marxism. Norman Thomas has not concluded in despair. His position is that "I have offered challenge rather than certitude. I have been skeptical of infallible dogmas."

"As I look back in history . . ." he says, "it seemed to me that always the great choices were relative, that never were men in social action able to seek the absolute good by means completely appropriate to it. . . . Neverthless, in social action I think it right to pursue that course than which on any clear evaluation of possibilities any alternative would be worse."

From a lifetime of such forthright positions taken on such an endless succession of issues, who could expect entire consistency? I cannot see, myself, how he can be so tender with Colonel Lindbergh. He speaks without qualification against communism and in restrained criticism of the political activities of the Roman Catholic Church in such fields as divorce, birth control, and education. He tells of his abandonment of absolute pacifism, of his attitude toward and during World War II, of his support of the United Nations action in the Korean crisis. In all his words there burns the steady inspiration from his superiority over the crowd "as one speaking to the conscience." Since this volume bears every evidence of being Mr. Thomas' intended final statement of his faith, its importance is obvious.

The author of "Men of Good Hope" proclaims his purpose as "an attempt to rehabilitate the progressive tradition." This tradition he sees as a movement to advance the greater good of men and women "not through a temporary dictatorship of the working class, not by autocratic fiat, but by abolishing special privileges and by restoring in greater measure the equality of opportunity." As these personal examples are held before our eyes, they should vigorously appeal not only to the development of leaders but to the enlistment of followers.

—The reviewer was formerly Managing Editor of The Survey.

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HOLLYWOOD, The Dream Factory, by Hortense Powdermaker. Little, Brown. $3.50.

THE GREAT AUDIENCE, by Gilbert Seldes. Viking Press. $3.75

HORTENSE POWDERMAKER WENT TO Hollywood in 1946 under a grant from the Viking Fund. A professional anthropologist, she used many of the techniques in her research which she earlier had employed as the first white women to live alone for a year among natives of New Ireland of the Bismarck Archipelago in the Southwest Pacific and as a student of culture in the Deep South of our own country. Both these earlier projects resulted in books. So did her year among the natives of the movie capital.

Gilbert Seldes has been a commentator

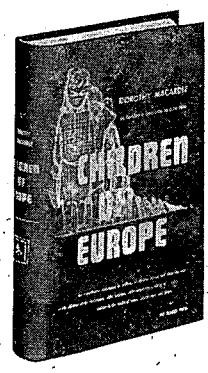
Youth in Today's World and Tomorrow's

CHILDREN OF EUROPE

By Dorothy Macardle

With illustrations by Kalman Landau, one of the children.

This is the grim story of children—not expendable adults, but children scourged by war; of millions who survive and whose sufferings are not over, who were torn from their parents, exhausted by famine and herded into concentration camps—or murdered. Says Vera Brittain: "It is really an admirable book—for all those who have any interest in children, which really means everyone." $3



THESE OUR CHILDREN

By Arthur T. Collis and Vera E. Poole

Says *The Sunday Chronicle:* "One of the most important, informative and moving human documents to be published since the end of the war. . . . It should be read by every civilized person." A study of the home life and social environment of children in an industrial slum district of our day. $2

THE RIGHT OF THE CHILD

By Edward Fuller . . . Foreword by the Countess Mountbatten of Burma. Introduction by Capt. L. H. Green.

Particularly timely . . . a record of the development and achievements of the Save the Children Fund, founded in 1919 by Eglantyne Jebb at a time when the backwash of the first World War was endangering future generations through their children. $2

Coming in May—

CONSIDER THE CHILDREN: HOW THEY GROW

By Elizabeth M. Manwell and Sophia L. Fahs. Completely revised. Honorable Mention Award. Parent's Magazine (first edition).

Here is a penetrating, down-to-earth psychological study of the child and his needs. Said *Child Study* of the first edition: "Indispensable for everyone interested in very young children, and even those a little older." $3

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and critic of the motion pictures and other of the "lively arts" for more than a quarter of a century. With motion pictures facing declining revenues and with radio and television battling each other for public favor, it was not unexpected that Mr. Seldes should write a book synthesizing his years of observation. Starting from widely varying backgrounds, these two arrive at many common conclusions. The diversity in what they brought to their research and the community of their findings make the conclusions even more impressive. Both agree that much should be improved to adapt motion pictures to their maximum use as a democratic medium for mass communications. Yet both see some hope for the future. All is not lost but it may be unless changes are made. Each suggests his own program.

Dr. Powdermaker was impressed by the complaints of approximately 300 individuals, ranging through front office executives, writers, directors, producers, stars, and bit players, whom she interviewed. Practically all of them bemoaned their frustrations. She concluded, "Hollywood is an industry, but daydreams are its product and these cannot be successfully produced as if they were cans of beans."

Dr. Powdermaker viewed the motion picture code in the same light as the taboo of the Pacific island culture. She amplifies this viewpoint with considerable illustrative material and documentation. All the way through her book—and this also is true of Mr. Seldes' book—Dr. Powdermaker has referred to specific motion pictures to establish her supporting evidence.

Mr. Seldes surveys not only the motion pictures but also radio and television. He argues, in his conclusion, that it is possible for the mass communication media to strengthen the democratic man but he frankly admits that most of the road toward that goal remains to be traveled.

HILLIER KRIEGHBAUM

Associate Professor of Journalism
New York University

BUT YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND, by Frances Bruce Strain. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3

ANY ADULT READING "But You Don't Understand" will find himself saying, "Isn't this true!" And after reading the book you will undoubtedly say that you have had your eyes opened as to how young people meet crises, even if you do not always agree that the solution of the crisis is the one you would have considered most desirable.

Of the twelve young adolescent characters introduced dramatically in this book, this reviewer doubts that any adult (except the author) would have thought of the solutions of the problems in the same terms that the young people did. But what is particularly interesting is that, as the author says, "In these twelve little stories, each unfolding plot belongs to its individual actor. Each one does what he individually had to do to meet his situation. It is not what anyone else, you, or I would have done. It is not, possibly, what ethically, he should have done. It is what he did do."

Coming from someone who knows young people as well as Mrs. Strain does, these stories cannot but impress those of us who are concerned with helping adolescents gain a better understanding of their needs and desires.

Mrs. Strain's suggested interpretations of the stories, which form the second part of this dramatic series of teen-age predicaments, are restrained and informative and suggest to parents and youth workers goals toward which they can strive to prevent some of the predicaments ever having to be solved.

If you are looking for a formula for "solving differences among all the varying personalities which are brought together in family life" this book is not for you. The author well realizes that there is not a single solution but many, and her interpretations will suggest ways of recognizing these vital needs and taking constructive action.

MARGARET DE WESTFELT

Director, Program Development Division, Girl Scouts of the USA

THE HOME EDUCATION OF A BOY, by William B. Barrett. Updegraff Press. $2

WILLIAM B. BARRETT DETERMINED thirty years ago to add to his son John's "life equipment" certain skills and kinds of knowledge not taught in school. When John was a mere toddler, he taught him the elements of construction with blocks: how to make walls neat and square, how to support a roof. When his boy was three and a half, he introduced him gradually to tools, showed him over the years how to coordinate head and hands in analyzing and solving problems.

At ten, John was introduced to the profit (and loss) system when his father set him up in a small scale printing business. At this same period John's father took him on field trips to factories to "expose" him to the problems of production and management.

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When the boy entered college, his father deposited to John's account a sum sufficient to cover all expenses, then told him he would receive no more. "Not once in four years did I have to send him an extra dollar," the author states; but one wonders why self-reliant John was not encouraged to earn part of his own way.

Son John is now thirty-three, married, with an infant John of his own. He has a satisfying job on "the fringe of engineering," plans his office work carefully, pay his debts promptly, sails a boat for relaxation, and appreciates good music. John appears to be, in short, a quite average young college-educated American of his period. This is hardly to his discredit, or to his father's. Yet considering the parental attention John has had, the reader involuntarily expects him to have achieved by now a somewhat loftier eminence. One wonders, disturbingly, whether he might not have done just as well without all the home tutoring.

This reviewer is also conscious of certain major blind spots in Mr. Barrett's program; apparently scant attention was paid to moral and spiritual training, and to indoctrination in civic responsibility. Many readers may dispute the author's choice of goals, and squirm at the rather smothering concentration he occasionally brought to his task.

Yet his book remains a stimulating volume for those of us, all too numerous, who hand over our children to the schools and say, "Here, you do it."

JOHN T. BEAUDOUIN

Pleasantville, N. Y.

YOU'RE HUMAN, TOO! by Adele Streeseman, M.D., Coward-McCann. $3

DISCUSSION OF PSYCHOANALYSIS HAS increased markedly in the last few years, and more and more people seem to be availing themselves of this help. There is still, however, misunderstanding of both the philosophy and the process of psychoanalysis, and criticism of the time and money the treatment costs. Now comes another interpretation of disease and its application to therapy—psychosomatic medicine. Dr. Streeseman, who has had experience as an analyst and also in industrial medicine and in penology, is now principally engaged in the study and practice of this recently organized division of medicine, a division long practiced by the old fashioned "family doctor." Not only has psychosomatic medicine shown us clearly that physical and emotional troubles are closely interwoven, but it also points to the necessity for a deeper psychological understanding than either internal medicine or even psychiatry have frequently shown.

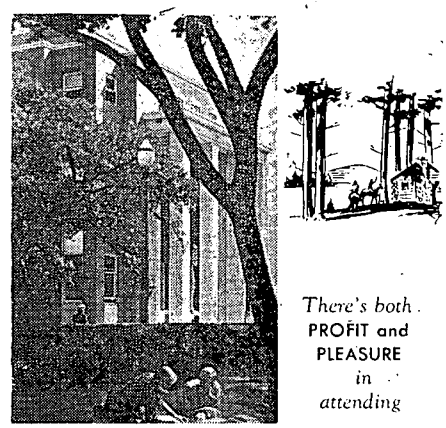
Another field which Dr. Streeseman discusses with convincing clarity is the connection between psychological medicine and the effort to change character. Many character abnormalities which hitherto have been regarded as "sin" she deals with as the effects of neuroses often owing their origin to conditions and experiences in early childhood. More than many analysts she regards this psychological treatment as a prelude to character changes. "Understanding his inner drives, forgiving himself for past misdeeds in the light of that understanding, as God forgives us when we are truly sorry, and then changing the behavior is every man's way out of a neurosis."

Dr. Streeseman's deep, sincere religious belief helps her in understanding character defects and in her healing procedures. In her last chapter she discusses what we mean by "normal" and what the word should stand for. There again, departure from what is considered normal in behavior and in achievement may easily be caused by childhood experiences and not by inherent personality weakness. The analyst must learn how the character under study has been formed before an effort is made to change it. And she gives a heartlifting definition of the aim of the therapist: "Being yourself, knowing no fear, giving your inner powers full expression, having free will and free choice, achieving an inner fearlessness and freedom from anxiety—these are the objectives of psychoanalysis. These are its definitions of normal."

But some psychological therapists are coming to see that the present international situation may make it impossible to eradicate neuroses. "How can the heart of man be free and normal in this crazy-quilt world of ours with its frequent wars, its greed, and its basic insecurity?" We ask for a change, she says, in this environment, "every day as we pray, 'Thy Kingdom come . . . on earth as it is in Heaven.'"

Another writer in a related field, Ashley Montague, states on the basis of careful research, that love and cooperation are "normal" to human beings, not aggression and pugnacity, as we are so often told. Children should be encouraged in their earliest days to act on these normal qualities, instead of the fighting traits, if they are to grow up free from

(Continued on page 187)



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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION ON MENTAL DEFICIENCY, INC. A National Association devoted to the care, education, training, community placement and supervision of retarded and mentally defective children and adults. Membership $6.00 per year. Publishers of American Journal of Mental Deficiency, quarterly, $7.00 per year; and A.A.M.D. News, $1.50 per year; annual Directory of members, including list of public and private institutions for retarded, $3 per copy. Applications, subscriptions and orders to P. O. Box 96, Willimantic, Connecticut.

AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY, INC., 47 Beaver St., New York 4, N. Y. Founded in 1913 for the control of cancer. Has 61 chartered divisions under which local units operate. Raises funds annually to support cancer research, education of the public and physicians, improvement of standards of cancer diagnosis and treatment. Fresh educational materials include: films, "Breast Self-Examination" and "Crusade"; publications, "CA" (professional journal) and "CANCER NEWS" (lay & prof.); pamphlets, "101 Answers to Cancer," "The 5 W's of Cancer," "ACS—What It Is, etc."; such material obtainable from the Society's divisions and local units.

AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR THE BLIND, INC.—15 West 16th Street, New York. A national organization conducting research and field service. Library. Mechanical appliances for the blind. William Ziegler, Jr., President; M. Robert Barnett, Executive Director.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Inc. (Quakers) (1917); 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, 7; Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary; Clarence E. Pickett, Honorary Secretary. Activities: The Committee represents the Society of Friends in relief and social welfare services on a nonsectarian basis and without discrimination of race or nationality. Present activities include the following: relief and rehabilitation projects in Austria, China, France, Germany, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Pakistan; refugee aid in the United States and abroad; race relations, including a job opportunities program and a visiting lectureship; economic relations, including an industrial relations seminar and youth projects of internships in industry and cooperatives; international relations, including institutes of international relations for high school age and adults in communities on the United States and seminars for foreign and American students in the United States, Europe and Asia; self-help housing projects in cities and rural areas; and youth projects for young people, in addition to the internships, institutes, and seminars mentioned above, including work camps in the United States, Mexico and Europe, and Institutional Service Units in state mental and correctional institutions.

AMERICAN HEARING SOCIETY—817 14th St., N.W., Fifth Floor, Washington 5, D. C. A national organization devoted to prevention of deafness, conservation of hearing and rehabilitation of the hard of hearing. Monthly publication, HEARING NEWS, $3.00 a year. Literature for sale. Information given concerning problems of the hard of hearing. Field Services. C. Stewart Nash, M.D., President; Harry P. Wareham, Executive Vice President.

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS. Administered through national headquarters in Washington, D. C., and four area offices in Alexandria, Va., Atlanta, Ga., St. Louis, Mo., San Francisco, Calif. There are 3,738 local chapters, organized mostly on a county basis. Services of the Red Cross are: Services to the Armed Forces and Veterans (including Home Service); the National Blood Program; International Activities; Disaster Services; Nursing Services; Food and Nutrition Service; First Aid, Accident Prevention, and Water Safety; Volunteer Services; Junior Red Cross; and College Activities.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF FAMILY RELATIONS (inc. 1930), directed by Paul Popenoe. Public education, personal service, research. Write for list of publications, 5287 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles 27, Calif.

ASSOCIATION FOR FAMILY LIVING, THE. Resource in child guidance, marriage, and family relations. Speakers, counseling, library and materials in youth and parent education. 28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

ASSOCIATION FOR PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS: Research-Therapy Forum. Dr. Melitta Schmideberg, Chairman. 20 East 84th Street, New York City. Non-profit. Free or low-fee treatment. Psychiatric treatment of adult and juvenile offenders. Monthly forum meetings. Workshop meetings in social treatment of offenders for social workers. Information, call Jack Sokol—Wadsworth 6-2551.

BIG BROTHERS OF AMERICA, INC. (United States and Canada). Founded in the interest of prevention and correction of juvenile delinquency. An international association of Big Brother agencies using volunteer laymen under supervision of professional social workers in guiding boys. Its membership is open to Catholic, Jewish, Protestant and non-sectarian Big Brother Organizations. President, Charles G. Berwind. Headquarters, Broad Street Station Building, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, 2 Park Ave., New York 16, N. Y. Incorporated 1910 and chartered by Congress in 1916 to develop character in boys and train them in citizenship. Programs: Cub Scouting—8, 9 and 10; Boy Scouting—11, 12 and 13; Exploring—14 and upward, available locally through sponsorship by schools, churches, fraternal orders, civic groups, etc. Amory Houghton, Pres., Dr. Arthur A. Schuck, Chief Scout Executive.

BOYS' ATHLETIC LEAGUE, INC., 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, Algonquin 4-1753. Arranges invitation tournaments in indoor and outdoor sports for Boys' Clubs, Social Settlements, Community Centers, Church Houses, Y. M. C. A.'s, Y. M. H. A.'s, etc., throughout Greater New York. Gustavus T. Kirby, Honorary President; Jacob Eichel, President; Arthur Price, Treasurer; Willard L. Kauth, Director. Sponsors: The Benjamin Harrison Recreation Center, 657 Tenth Avenue; Theodore Roosevelt Recreation Center, 2077 Second Ave.; Tot-Lot Playground, 422 West 49 Street; Tot-Lot, 110 East 110 Street; Camp Sebago, Camp Wakonda and Camp Orenda in the Palisade-Interstate Park; Co-Sponsors: Lincoln Recreation Center, 240 West 113 Street; School Settlement, 120 Jackson Street, Brooklyn.

CAMP FIRE GIRLS, INC., 16 East 48 Street, New York 17, N. Y. Mrs. Richard W. Blalock, President; Miss Martha F. Allen, National Director. Founded in 1910, by a group of progressive educators, "to perpetuate the spiritual ideals of the home and to stimulate and aid in the formation of habits making for health and character." It provides health and character-building activities for girls 7 to 18 and stresses home and related crafts.

CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA—24 West 40 Street, New York 18. A league of children's agencies and institutions to secure improved standards and methods in their various fields of work. It also cooperates with other children's agencies, cities, states, churches, fraternal orders and other civic groups to work out worthwhile results in phase of child welfare in which they are interested.

COMMUNITY CHESTS AND COUNCILS OF AMERICA INCORPORATED, 155 East 44th Street, New York 17. Information and consultation about cooperative planning and financing of social work through chests and councils of social agencies.

GIRL SCOUTS OF THE U.S.A., 155 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y. President: Mrs. C. Vaughan Ferguson. Founded in 1912 to help girls between the ages of 7 and 17 prepare, with volunteer adult leadership, for their responsibilities in the home and as active citizens in the community and in the world. Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. offer activities in eleven program fields covering international friendship, outdoor life, homemaking, the arts, and future vocations.

HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL OF NORTH AMERICA—297 Fourth Ave., New York City. The inter-denominational home mission body of 23 denominations. Executive Secretaries, Edith E. Lowry, Rev. I. George Nace; Migrant Supervisors: Western, Mrs. F. E. Shotwell, 3330 West Adams Blvd., Los Angeles 18, Calif.; Midwestern, Rev. Ellis Marshburn, 127 North Dearborn St., Chicago 2, Ill.

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASS'N., 1313 E. 60 Street, Chicago 37, Ill. To aid in improving municipal administration (1) the Municipal Year Book, (2) Public Management, monthly journal on local government, (3) Management Information Service for Cities on fee basis, (4) Eight correspondence courses in municipal management. Write for more details.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY—Promotes a better understanding of problems of democracy in industry through its pamphlets, research and lecture services and organization of college and city groups. Executive Director, Harry W. Laidler, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE DEAF, 121 West Wacker Drive, Chicago 1, Ill. Byron B. Burnes, President; Robert M. Greenmun, Secretary-Treasurer. Organized 1880. Incorporated 1900. Objects: Educational, Social, Industrial Welfare of the Deaf, Quadrennial National Conventions. Official Organ, The Silent Worker, $3.50 year. Lists achievements of deaf in Industry, Education, Sports, and Religion. Section for Parents of Deaf Children.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON ALCOHOLISM, INC., 2 East 103rd Street, New York 29, N. Y. A non-profit organization established in 1944, to aid in the education of the public in matters pertaining to alcoholism. It does not take sides in the Wet-Dry controversy. It provides speakers to interested groups and distributes factual unbiased literature. It organizes citizen's committees in communities throughout the country, and sponsors and guides these local committees in programs of education and action in their communities, designed to meet this great medical and social problem. Through these local affiliates it promotes and establishes facilities for the rehabilitation of the alcoholic. It promotes prevention of alcoholism through education and rehabilitation.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, 22 West Gay St., Columbus 15, Ohio; Ewan Clague, President. The Conference is an organization to discuss the principle of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the proceedings of the meeting and issues a quarterly Bulletin. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of $7.50. 78th Annual Meeting, 1951, Atlantic City, N. J.

NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE RETIREMENT ASSOCIATION, INC., 10 East 40th Street, New York 16. Organized 1945 to provide a nonprofit retirement program for health and welfare agencies to supplement Social Security. More than 2300 organizations and agencies covering 25,000 workers, use the facilities of this Retirement Association. The Plan provides transferability between member organizations. Write for information.

(In answering advertisements please mention THE SURVEY)

(Continued on next page)

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, 1819 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y. Mrs. Irving M. Engel, President. FIFTY-SIX YEARS SERVICE TO FAITH AND HUMANITY through:—SOCIAL WELFARE—Mental hygiene program; Council houses and clubs, nurseries; clinics; camps, work with the aged and handicapped; scholarships. OVERSEAS SERVICES—Operation of a home for unattached girls and young women in Paris; scholarship grants at American Universities for study in social welfare, public health, nutrition, nursing, occupational therapy to qualified young women from abroad who return to work in their own countries. EDUCATION AND SOCIAL ACTION—Contemporary Jewish Affairs, international relations and peace, social legislation. Study groups under National direction keep Jewish women throughout country alert to vital current issues. Through local Sections, SERVICE TO FOREIGN BORN—Immigration aid, port and dock work, naturalization aid, Americanization classes, location of relatives. SUPPORT OF SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, HEBREW UNIVERSITY, JERUSALEM. 234 Senior Sections in United States—also Junior and Councilette groups. 85,000 Senior members.

NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION—1790 Broadway at 58th St., New York. Dr. James E. Perkins, managing director. Pamphlets of methods and programs for the prevention of tuberculosis. Publications sold and distributed through state associations in every state. American Review of Tuberculosis medical journal, $10.00 a year; and Monthly Bulletin, house organ, free.

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION—315 Fourth Ave., New York City. To bring to everybody in America, young or old, an opportunity to find the best and most satisfying recreational use of leisure time through participation in music, drama, sports and games, arts and crafts, nature activities; and to help secure adequate playground, recreation centers, swimming pools, beaches, athletic fields and other recreational facilities.

NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE, 1025 Vermont Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. A citizens' organization, working to help secure a better housed America, promoting slum clearance, public low-rent housing, urban redevelopment, and housing for families of middle income. Acts as coordinating agency for housing information to labor, veterans', religious, social welfare, educational, minority and public interest organizations. Monthly newsletter, special reports and studies throughout the year, and Annual Meeting. Lee F. Johnson, Executive Vice President.

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN AND ADULTS, INC., 11 South LaSalle Street, Chicago 3, Illinois. Gerard M. Ungaro, President; Lawrence J. Linck, Executive Director. The Society through its 2000 state and local member units seeks to provide health, welfare, educational, recreational, vocational and employment services to all types of handicapped persons, adjusting its services to each community and the programs of other agencies. Maintains special cerebral palsy services; consultation by professional staff; loan library. Financed by annual sale of Easter Seals. Publishes "The Crippled Child," a magazine for parents of handicapped children, bimonthly, $2.00 a year.

THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION, Campbell B. Beard, Executive Secretary, 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., is the professional organization for counselors and others engaged and interested in vocational guidance and the publishers of OCCUPATIONS, the Vocational Guidance Journal.

THE OSBORNE ASSOCIATION, INC., 114 East 30th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone CAledonia 5-9720-9721. Activities:—Collects information about correctional institutions and works to improve correctional methods and standards. Aids released prisoners in their problems of readjustment by securing employment and giving such other assistance as they may require. Austin H. MacCormick, Exec. Dir.; Robt. R. Hannum, Dir. of Vocational Placement.

THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS, INC., 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y. A non-profit organization pledged to lead, direct and unify the fight against infantile paralysis and supported by the March of Dimes. Through more than 2,800 Chapters serving every county of the nation, it helps pay for the best available care and treatment for polio patients whose families cannot pay full costs unaided, regardless of age, race, creed or color, and assists in staffing and equipping local polio centers. It supports scientific investigation into the cause, prevention, cure and treatment of infantile paralysis and finances the professional training of scientific and medical personnel. It maintains a year-round program of public information and education about the disease.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, organized in 1910, with 57 local branches seeks to improve living and working conditions among Negroes. Conducts surveys and research as basis for its services. Specializes in securing full use of Negro manpower in public and private employment. Publishes special bulletins on interracial and community problems. Provides fellowships in Social Work. Solicits contributions and gifts. 1133 Broadway, New York 10. WAtkins 4-0505.

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THE VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA, 34 West 28th Street, New York 1, N. Y. A nationwide religion-social welfare organization founded in 1896 by Ballington Booth and Maud Ballington Booth to meet spiritual and varied physical needs of the unadjusted and disadvantaged of all nationalities and creeds thru institutions, posts and departments in most major American cities.

Letters & Life

from page 185

anxiety and with the inner fearlessness of which Dr. Streeseman writes. No wonder neuroses (emotional ills) afflict us in such number when we are so constantly encouraging the acquired, not inherent, tendencies of aggression and selfishness. The remedy is to substitute cooperation for competition, love for hate.

ELEANOR HOPE JOHNSON

Associate Professor Emeritus,
Hartford Seminary Foundation

ONE HALF THE PEOPLE—Doctors and the Crisis of World Health, by Charles Morrow Wilson. William Sloan Associates. $4

THIS VOLUME INDICATES THAT HALF of the people of the world are sick at any given time, and leads the reader to reflect upon the definition of health, of illness, and of incapacity.

The greater part of the book is devoted to vivid description of the great health problems of tropical and non-industrialized countries. The valiant efforts of native doctors in Africa are described and some comparisons are suggested with the tasks of the rural doctor in America's Ozark region. In both cases, the medical task seems overwhelming and almost hopeless, without the assistance of resources from the great urban medical centers.

Here in the United States, health is regarded as a natural condition for man, and medical science has advanced rapidly in practice and understanding. Yet, here, much remains to be done, and this is no place or time for complacency as shown by data relating to conservation of vision and of hearing, as well as in regard to the status of maternal and child health, mental health, occupational health, and accidents.

In the USA are found medical research and educational institutions second to none in the world; but they are operating at prohibitive financial risks or even deficits, and require financial sustenance "if the show is to go on," especially in the imaginative, privately supported universities.

Mr. Wilson is an internationalist of vision who has traveled widely. In spite of questions of medical and public health facts or interpretation in the text, the basic message is generally sound. A chapter on public health and medical service organization in Soviet Russia is provocative, raising perhaps the challenge of whether health services can be organized on a vast scale in an agricultural nation without regimentation and sacrifices of individual freedom.

This study of health and of the fight of workers in medicine and in public health to improve the status of mankind is worthy of reading and of thoughtful

(Continued on page 190)

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POSITIONS OPEN IN ALASKA
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Supervisory and casework positions open for professionally qualified social workers. Starting Salaries range from $4,320 to $5,520.

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Consultation with Representative of the Department available at Booth D-5, National Conference of Social Work, May 12-18.

For application blanks and information write via airmail, stating qualifications, to

ALASKA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
Box 2781 Juneau, Alaska

CASEWORKERS. Opening for two professionally trained caseworkers in agency with developing family counseling program. Range $3,000-$4,500 now pending approval; entrance salary dependent on experience. Write Marcel Kovarsky, Jewish Family and Children's Service, 15 Fernando Street, Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

GROUP WORK EXECUTIVE with training and experience to direct merger of well established Settlement and Nursery into new Community Center. Money at hand for immediate building program. Estimated budget $20,000 and up. Staff to be assembled. Salary range $4500 to $5500. Write qualifications to Personnel Committee, 819 Transportation Bldg., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.

CASEWORK SUPERVISOR
Supervisor wanted in children's agency with adoption and child placement services. This is a challenge to a trained caseworker interested in reorganizing and developing new services on state-wide basis. Expanding programe. Starting salary $3000 per annum. Address: Children's Home Society of W. Va., P. O. Box 2942, Charleston, W. Va.

CASEWORK POSITIONS—Full and part time. Personnel Policy sent upon request. Interviews arranged at Atlantic City National Conference of Social Work or as desired. Write, Personnel Department, Travelers Aid Society of Chicago, R 443, 201 West Harrison, Chicago 7, Illinois.

WANTED: Executive Director for well established private agency offering rehabilitation services to physically handicapped adults through case work, group work, sheltered workshop and homework programs. Well qualified staff. Qualities of leadership and demonstrated administrative ability essential. Detroit League for the Handicapped, 535 West Jefferson, Detroit 26, Michigan.

NATIONAL TRAVELERS AID ASSOCIATION is expanding to provide services in special units for military personnel and war production workers in the emergency. Qualified caseworkers, supervisors, and Unit directors needed. Also recruiting applicants for executive and case supervisors' vacancies as they occur in member agencies throughout the country. Qualifications include MSW and experience in casework agency with some administrative or supervisory responsibility. Write National Travelers Aid Association, 425 Fourth Avenue, New York City 16.

CASEWORKER—A new and stimulating position in the Flint YWCA for casework and counseling service to girls and women, sponsored by Council of Social Agencies. Opportunity for cooperative planning with group and casework agencies. Training and experience necessary; salary range $3,000-$4,000, depending on qualifications. For further information write to Miss Marie Watters, YWCA, 201 E. First Street, Flint, Michigan.

CASEWORKER—professionally trained and experienced for agency with broad program of family casework. Supervision, psychiatric consultation, good personnel practices. Salary scale starts at $3000. 9173 Survey.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, small family agency, two caseworkers, serving industrial community of 100,000, at gateway to fine recreational area. Good personnel policies. Graduate of accredited school of social work plus acceptable experience. Salary dependent on qualifications. Family Service Society, 300 Moore Memorial Bldg., Duluth 2, Minn.

WANTED: Child Welfare Worker for opening as Senior Caseworker in County Branch. Must have two years graduate study in School of Social Work and have some paid experience in an accredited child caring agency; or one year paid employment in Social Casework Agency and one year professional training. Salary $2,500-$3,000. Must own and drive a car. Reply to—Maryland Children's Aid Society, Inc., 2133 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore 18, Maryland.

DIRECTOR of Home Life in Episcopal Church institutions for boy offenders. Professional status in social work and experience in the field of institutional child care required. Salary commensurate with experience, from $4200. St. Francis Boys' Homes, Salina, Kansas.

CASEWORKERS in foster home department in multiple function children's agency. Professional training required. Good personnel practices. Salary range comparable with good agency practice. Anna K. Buell, Casework Supervisor, Children's Center, 1400 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, Conn.

SETTLEMENT PROGRAM SUPERVISOR—ASSISTANT CAMP DIRECTOR: (Female) Graduate of accredited school of social work, or equivalent with group work major. Three years or more experience in group work agency desirable. Good personnel practices. Small newly decorated apartment, utilities included, in addition to salary. Write E. L. Newman, Executive Secretary, Associated Charities, 230 Park Place, Bridgeport, Conn.

CASEWORKERS. Graduate accredited school. For child-placing division and for family division. Qualified supervisors. Psychiatric consultation program. Pleasant working conditions. Salary range $2976-$3708 plus $20 a month cost-of-living. Apply to General Director, Catholic Social Service, 1825 Mission Street, San Francisco 3, California.

EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR CASEWORKER: Vacancy in a progressive Jewish family agency. Graduate of an accredited school of social work. Experience in a family agency and ability to speak Yiddish or German preferred. Salary $3,300 minimum to $4,500 maximum with yearly increments. Regular salary allowance for each year of experience. Write fully concerning qualifications to Jewish Family Service, 18 South Stockton Street, Trenton, New Jersey.

CASEWORK SUPERVISOR combined family and children's agency. Good salary and working conditions. Excellent personnel policies. Early opening. Write Family and Children's Service, 313 S. E. Second Street, Evansville, Indiana.

WANTED by Children's Home Society of Florida, in Miami office—Case Supervisor, graduate of accredited school, experienced in adoption. Salary range $4,000-$5,000, according to experience offered. Also caseworker Jacksonville office. Salary range $2,950-$3,950. Write to Helen D. Cole, 1649 Osceola Street, Jacksonville, Florida.

CASEWORKERS, particularly those experienced in adoption service and family casework will find real opportunity in recently reorganized multiple service program; good supervision, student training program, psychiatric consultation. Reasonable case loads and good personnel practices. Salary in accord with experience. Family and Children's Service, 410 Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.

CASEWORKER, non-sectarian family agency. Beginning salary $3,500, yearly increases. Psychiatric consultation, caseload under 35. Opportunities for growth as supervisor. Progressive personnel practices, excellent agency library and paid attendance at FSAA Institute and professional conferences. Graduate social work training required. Write John Hanks, Family Service, 126 N. Mechanic St., Jackson, Michigan.

QUALIFIED SOCIAL WORKER interested in opportunity to develop a unique health agency into a well rounded medical Social Service program. Industrial community of 135,000. Salary commensurate with responsibility and in line with prevailing professional rates. For further details write Hospital and Home Service, 208 Central Building, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

ADOPTION WORKER—graduate training and experience—for private, state-wide child placing agency. Iowa Children's Home Society, 206 Savings & Loan Building, Des Moines 9, Iowa.

JEWISH CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION
6630 Oakland Avenue
St. Louis 10, Mo.

Social caseworker for psychoanalytically oriented child welfare agency providing foster home placement, institutional care, adoption and unmarried mother service, and service to children in their own homes related to the above. High level professional standards, and personnel practices; casework service integrated with clinical psychology and psychiatric consultation. Salary range $3,000 to $4,000. Student supervision experience available for properly qualified person. Apply: Abraham J. Simon, Jewish Child Welfare Association, 6630 Oakland Avenue, St. Louis 10, Mo.

CASEWORKER. Opening for professionally trained caseworker in established multiple service family agency. One year experience in private family agency required. Expanding program. Professional supervision. Limited case load. Board of directors active in developing and maintaining high standards of casework and personnel practice. Recently revised statement of personnel policies available. Salary beginning $3,000 to $3,200, depending on training and experience. Annual increments based on evaluation. Write Rosemary Antin, Jewish Social Service, 78 State St., Albany 7, N. Y.

PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORK ADMINISTRATOR—NEIGHBOR ISLAND

Salary range $509.58 to $373.75, plus $25.00 month cost-of-living bonus. Administration mental health program on Island of Kauai, a rural county of 30,000 population (45 min. flying time from Honolulu) under Territorial PSW Administrator. Preparing monthly clinics for traveling psychiatrist, community m.h. education, consultation to social agencies, opportunity to teach m.h. university extension course. Work integrated with active public health program under Health Dept.

Qualifications: Graduate, PSW major, 4 years professional experience 2 years in child guidance, 1 in supervision, or combination

Bureau of Mental Hygiene
Department of Health

c/o University of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dr. John G. Lynn IV, Chief
Community Mental Hygiene program, including guidance clinics for both adults and children under territorial auspices.

(Continued on next page)

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WORKERS WANTED

WANTED—Social workers to file their qualifications with the Medical Bureau; opportunities in all parts of America including foreign countries; all negotiations strictly confidential, Burneice Larson, Medical Bureau, Palmolive Building, Chicago.

PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER—Community Mental Hygiene Center—Atlantic seaboard city. Intake and treatment interviews, inter agency contacts. Masters degree and three (3) years experience in casework required. 9145 Survey.

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR in graduate accredited school of social work. Salary: $3,420.00 per ten-month school year, effective September 1, 1951. Duties include classroom teaching and supervision of students in the field. Qualifications: Graduate of member school of the AASSW, experience in a social casework agency, supervisory status desirable. Box 9162 Survey.

MEDICAL SOCIAL WORKER—Opening on the state staff of a state supervised, county administered public assistance program. Qualifications: completion of a full two-year course in an approved medical social curriculum. Four years of full-time paid employment in a clinic or hospital, a public medical care program, or in a social agency giving services to families, children or handicapped persons, one year of which must have consisted of employment as a medical social worker in a clinic, hospital or a public medical care program. Salary $325-$385. For details write Division of Public Assistance, 801 Harrison St., Topeka, Kansas.

CHILD WELFARE WORKER—Private multiple function child-placing agency. Reasonable caseloads and good personnel practices. Graduate social work training required. Salary range $2800-$3900, depending on training and experience. Member CWL. Write N. W. Ackerson, Children's Service League, 730 E. Vine St., Springfield, Ill.

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(Continued on page 187)

consideration. The author points out that "free peoples cannot survive in a sick world, that human misery nourishes totalitarianism, and that the vicious circle of malnutrition, disease, and death can be broken only by food," produced in ways and places hitherto united.

IRA V. HISCOCK
Chairman, Department of Public Health
Yale University

ESSAYS IN TEACHING, edited by Harold Taylor. Harper. $3

MOST COLLEGE TEACHERS HAVE HEARD of Sarah Lawrence as a progressive experimental school for rich girls, and have dismissed it from their minds as either a country club or a nursery for spoiled children. No one, however, who reads this book can ever again believe these stereotypes, for the twelve members of the Sarah Lawrence faculty contributing accounts of their theories and practices are thorough scholars not only in their respective fields and in others related to them, but they are also citizens of our complex world and wise, sympathetic human beings.

It is the students who are the principal concern of the faculty here. The girls' questions provide the starting point for whatever subject they enter upon, their interests are the focus around which is built the knowledge they acquire. If that focus is music, says Norman dello Joio, it is used to help the students "to become sensitve, informed, and discriminating members of American and world society." If it is history, it is used to illuminate what Charles Trinkhaus calls "the main problem of higher education today: to bridge the gap between the individual's experience and the objective needs of society."

All these teachers believe, as does Madeleine Grant, quoting Agassiz, in "the individual's right to choose the courses which develop his natural inclinations." No one course is regarded as essential for every student, no special or general examinations are set and no grades are given; no "departments" compete for numbers of students or for popularity. On the contrary, the whole faculty works cooperatively, frequently developing joint projects.

Because of this cooperative study of each others' subjects and each others' students, each teacher is obliged to broaden his interests to an extent rarely known on other campuses. How this is done without superficiality is impressively shown in Helen Lynd's splendid discussion of "Experience in Philosophy" and in B. J. Loewenberg's stimulating remarks on "American history in college education." Indeed, every paper in this book proves the competence of its contributors.

Their methods demand frequent individual conferences with students, and always very careful planning of each project to assure its honest and thorough completion. Sometimes, as is evident in Lois Murphy's essay, "Education and the Family," and the discussion of "Art and Education" by Kurt Roesch, the communities of Bronxville and of Greater New York are used as fields for research. There is no narrowness even in the "private worlds" of poetry and literature as defined by Stephen Spender and Horace Gregory, or in the controversial field of psychology, so sanely described by Rudolf Arnheim.

President Taylor in a brief preface and conclusion and Esther Raushenbush in her introductory statement on "The Teacher and the Student" declare their faith in terms that cannot fail to impress even the most skeptical critic of Sarah Lawrence. Of course, the success of the methods described depends on the excellence of the faculty assembled by President Taylor and his predecessor, Contance Warren; that excellence cannot be doubted by any reader of this book.

Vassar College WINIFRED SMITH

CULTURE IN CRISIS: A Study of the Hopi Indian, by Laura Thompson. Harper. $4

SUPPOSE MOST OF THE POPULATION OF the United States were blotted out by a series of atomic bomb attacks. What groups if they survive could best adapt their way of life to the new conditions? I should include in such a list the almost four thousand Hopi Indians of Arizona. My selection is due in part to their isolated and forbidding locale. Thirteen adobe-studded pueblos (villages) are perched on three wind-swept mesas, towering several hundred feet above the Navajo Indian Reservation. My belief is also grounded in the fact that these peaceful people have survived despite centuries of struggle with their arid environment, and the encroachments of hostile Indians and Spanish and American whites. Withal, they have succeeded in preserving many features of their complex pre-Columbian way of life.

For these reasons, among others, the United States Indian Bureau and the University of Chicago included Hopiland in their joint research into Indian personnel, education, and administration, studying intensively the impact of the Bureau's program on a few Indian communities.

"Culture in Crisis" is the latest of several noteworthy books growing out of these studies. Its author, Dr. Laura Thompson, was coordinator of this research, and co-author with Dr. Alice Joseph of the first publication, "The Hopi Way."

The importance and timeliness of the new book is described in a foreword by the former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier. Its publication comes at the beginning of the four-point program and during a period which some believe is a crisis in Indian administration.

It does much more than expand our knowledge of the Hopis. It demonstrates what is now generally recognized by social scientists—but not always by administrators—that officials dealing with a different culture should understand and utilize the native system of values and attitudes, and their traditional patterns of organization and leadership. Dr. Thompson also proves the importance of understanding the personality needs of individuals in their environmental setting—social, cultural, geographic, and historic.

Yet, the complications inherent in even the smallest ethnic group are apparent. I should like to know more fully what integrated research would reveal concerning some current problems of adjustment which Hopis face. How will increased federal appropriations under the Navajo-Hopi rehabilitation program affect the lives of these thrifty, industrious people? Will the Hopi villages evolve a tribal government geared to meet problems affecting them all?

This is a stimulating book, but I wish to pose one concluding query applicable to all studies of cultures by alien scholars. How much of the personality of an author with a different cultural heritage is reflected in his "facts" and "conclusions?" The social sciences, including psychology, cannot fully determine what role cultural differences play in interpretations of other peoples. Too bad that I am not a Hopi. Some day, however, I hope to secure the impressions of some of my Hopi friends.

THEODORE H. HAAS
Washington, D. C.

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